Handbook of the NS propagandist

Context:

Propaganda Articles Pre - 1933

1. "Propaganda": A 1927 guidebook for Nazi propagandists.
2. Modern Political Propaganda: A 1930 pamphlet for Nazi propagandists.
3. "How I Treat a Local Group Leader" a 1931 piece from the Nazi monthly for propagandists, discussing problems in the propaganda system.
4. "How I Treat a Speaker": A 1931 piece from the same periodical discussing problems speakers had with local group leaders.
5. Rural Propaganda: A 1932 piece on how to reach the countryside.
6. An Analysis of Nazi Propaganda: Written after the July 1932 Reichstag election.
7. Reaching the Marxists: A late 1932 essay discussing the difficulties in appealing to Marxists.

Propaganda Articles 1933-1945

1. "14 Days in a Gau Propaganda Office": How a Nazi regional propaganda office functioned in 1934.
2. "The Propaganda Warden": The importance of lower-level propagandists.
3. "The Tasks of Propaganda in the National Socialist State": A 1934 Goebbels speech on propaganda.
4. "10 Commandments for Propagandists": A 1934 satirical article on problems in the system.
5. "Political Propaganda": A rather lengthy 1934 essay on the nature of propaganda.
6. "The Nature of Contemporary Propaganda": Another 1934 essay on propaganda.
7. "The Reichspropaganda-leitung ": A 1936 article on the Nazi Party's Central Propaganda Office.
8. "Political Propaganda as a Moral Duty": A 1936 article on the importance of propaganda.
9. "The Reich Speaker School": On methods of training speakers.
10. "Heart or Reason? What We Don't Want from our Speakers": Problems in the Nazi speaker system.
11. "Film as a Weapon": A 1937 piece by Fritz Hipper, who made *The Eternal Jew*.
12. "The Power of Speech": On the centrality of oral rhetoric.

13. "Hitler Youth Speakers": A 1937 article on the Hitler Youth Speaker System
14. Nazi Meetings from the Speaker's Viewpoint: All was not well, according to this 1937 article.
15. Hitler Speeches and Foreign Radio Stations: Advice to party members in October, 1939.
16. "The Meeting Campaign": A 1939 description of how to organize a saturation campaign of mass meetings.
17. A long report from a 1939 conference for propagandists: Nazi propaganda thinking at the eve of the war.
18. A 1939 bibliography for Nazi propagandists: A good listing of Nazi works on propaganda.
19. "The Political Work of the Radio Announcer": A 1939 essay on using radio.
20. "Public Meetings During Wartime?": A 1940 essay promoting public meetings.
21. "Mistakes in Meeting Propaganda": A 1941 article on the Nazi meeting system.
22. "The Work of Party Propaganda in War": A 1941 review of Nazi propaganda efforts.
23. Propaganda plan for spring 1942: Marching orders for propagandists.
24. The Propaganda System: What a propagandist needed to know in 1942.
25. On Relations with Foreigners: Interesting 1943 advice to party leaders.
26. "The Officer and Enemy Propaganda": A 1943 pamphlet for officers training recruits.

"Neues Europa" Verlag
Sofia, Bulgarien - 2005
e-mail : novaevropa@abv.bg

Propaganda

The source: Propaganda Abteilung, *Propaganda* (Munich: Reichs-Parteileitung der N.S.D.A.P., 1927).

Contents:

Guidelines for Propaganda

To introduce propaganda, we begin with the most important passages from our Führer Adolf Hitler's book "Mein Kampf." In Chapter 6 titled "War Propaganda," he writes:

"Propaganda is a means and must be evaluated as such, from the standpoint of the goal."

"It has always to speak only to the masses."

"The task of propaganda lies not in the scientific training of the individual, rather in drawing the attention of the masses to certain facts, events, necessities, etc...."

"It is wrong to want to give propaganda the multi-sidedness of scientific instruction."

"...Effective propaganda must limit its points of a few and these points must be repeated until even the last member of the audience understands what is meant by them."

"It must limit itself to a few themes and repeat them incessantly."

"Each change must never affect the content of propaganda, rather must always draw the same conclusions."

The Führer wrote these words as a judgment about war propaganda, and they are even more true today than they were then. The only difference today for us National Socialists is that we are not propagandizing lies and untruths as England did during the War, rather we are preaching freedom and prosperity, socialism and patriotism to our confused people.

Our struggle and our propaganda have one supreme principle: **to take truth and only truth as the foundation of our propaganda.**

The Propaganda Committee

Paragraph 7 of the NSDAP Party Statute states: "To enable the development of the organization, besides the board elected by the membership meeting, the following committees with particular tasks are established:

a) The Propaganda Committee, with a chairman and 8 members. Its goal is to deal with questions relating to propaganda.

The chairman will be appointed by the head of the organization.

The chairman determines the committee's members in consultation with the party leadership.

The current members of the committee are:

Chair: Gregor Strasser, Member of the Reichstag, pharmacist, Landshut, Zweibrückenstr. 684

Member and Vice Chairman: Heinrich Himmler, degree in agriculture, Munich, Glückstr. 19/2 r.

The office of the committee is: NSDAP, Schellingstr. 50, Telephone 29 0 31.

All payments should be directed to the party's account: NSDAP, Munich, 23 3 19.

Only personal correspondence should be sent to the home addresses of the chairman and vice chairman. Otherwise, mail should go to the main address.

Types of Propaganda

A. Speeches, Meetings and Discussion Evenings

Our Führer Adolf Hitler wrote in Part I of his book "Mein Kampf":

"But the force that set the great historical avalanches of religious and political change in motion was from the beginning the magic force of the spoken word alone."

"The course of a people's history can be changed only by a storm of glowing passion, but only he can awaken passion who carries it within himself."

"It alone gives the words to him whom it has chosen, the hammer blows that open the door to the hearts of a people."

"Each movement with great goals must anxiously be on guard to ensure that it does not lose touch with the broad masses of the people."

These words remind us never to forget that we are a financially weak party, and the speech for this reason alone is the cheapest and therefore the best propaganda.

1. **The speaker** is the public representative of the party and the proclaimer of a new worldview. He must therefore be knowledgeable and morally upright, having a good reputation as a soldier and also as a man. Each *Gau* leader must therefore know the speakers of his region and know if the speaker fulfills all the necessary qualifications.

2. According to Directive 5 of the Propaganda Department, the individual *Gaue* have reported the following speakers:

[The brochure lists a total of 209 speakers, divided by *Gau,* with their occupations and addresses. 59 of them are authorized to speak anywhere in the country, the rest are limited to their *Gau.* The topic specialties of 21 of these speakers are also given. It lists an additional speaker, a Russian, who is an expert on Freemasonry and Bolshevism. This list is a valuable guide to early party leaders, but will not likely interest most readers of this page, so I won't include the names.]

d) **Approval of New Speakers**

The speakers listed above are the official speakers of the party. The speaker list was compiled on the basis of information supplied by the *Gaue.*

From now on, party comrades wishing to be recognized as official speakers of the party must submit the following papers to their *Gau,* which will pass them on to the party headquarters:

Attestation by the *Gauleiter* of their rhetorical ability

Certificate of good character

A precise biography with as much supporting material as possible

Only upon receipt of these documents, which should be passed on by the relevant *Gau,* will the Propaganda Department send written appointment as an "official speaker." As of today, this approval can come from no other party office.

A. I. 3. The speaker is no necessary evil that the local group has to pay, rather the propagandist of the idea. He sacrifices his time, strength, health and material possessions for the party. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary to provide an honorarium and to cover his expenses. Recognition of his abilities and demonstrated skill encourages the speaker.

4. On the other hand, it is a matter of honor for the speaker to hold to his schedule as much as is humanly possible. Meetings are to be conducted regardless of the attendance. This is a matter of the prestige of the party.

The speaker should always remember that although speaking at a discussion evening may seem to bring less prestige, it often is a greater success for the movement than a public meeting.

A. II. 1. The public political meeting is the place where an authoritative speaker presents the goals of the movement and the position of our worldview on domestic and international events and relates it to the fundamental spiritual thinking of every group of our people. The public meeting is therefore a matter of the prestige and growing strength of the movement. The manner of its preparation is the test of the local group. The proper term for the invitation is: "public people's meeting" (*Öffentliche Volksversammlung*). The term "mass meeting" should be used only when one really expects a mass turnout.

2. The **theme of the public meeting** should always be chosen to draw people to the meeting, particularly the group one is appealing to. We distinguish between worldview and current events themes. An example of presenting worldview political themes is the brochure with poster texts published by Dr. Goebbels, which can be ordered from the business office of the "Nationalsozialistische Briefe," Elberfeld, Oststr. 69.

The other type of meeting theme uses sensational events of the day, Jewish or Marxist scandals, and foreign events, which can be stated in few words - usually 3 or 4 words in large type. These will arouse the curiosity of the masses, or their wrath about international events. They will attend hoping to hear something sensational or to hear something to the advantage of their group or class.

One may not chose only worldview political themes or current events themes, else one will lose contact with the masses, or attract only the mere masses, not valuable fighters. The goal is to have the public eagerly awaiting each meeting, as was true for a period in Munich during the years 1922-1923.

3. **Announcing a Meeting:**

a) Use clever, concise, large and striking **posters.** In most areas they should regularly use the same colors. In so far as the police allow, the preferred color is the familiar red of the National Socialist posters in Munich. Despite the high cost, effective public posters are by the best and most effective method of announcing a meeting, and therefore the cheapest as well. For examples of poster texts, see the appendix to Book I of "Mein Kampf."

In provinces and areas where posters with large texts are banned, it will be helpful to secure the picture posters put out by the Propaganda Department, on which locally relevant texts can be pasted. All posters should include propaganda for the "Völkischer Beobachter" **[the party daily newspaper]** (insofar as this is allowed by the police).

In smaller areas, posters that can be filled out are available from the Propaganda Department.

Meeting promotion is assisted by:

b) **the leaflet,** which announces the meeting and provides short, vivid and striking text that will attract the desired opponents to the meeting.

Such leaflets can also be pasted up around the area. It is also good to print meeting notices on the backs of official party leaflets (which, with the exception of Nrs. 2 and 9, always leave room on the back side for a **meeting notice** applied with a rubber stamp in red ink).

The Propaganda Department also has picture leaflets available with brief texts and a call to join the party. These can be distributed or pasted up, but can also be used as an invitation to a meeting, since they have space on the back to ass the place, time and speaker.

c) Invitations by **advertisements** in the bourgeois press are usually very expensive and directly support our opponents. They should only be used where it is a matter of local custom, the omission of which could harm the meeting. In that case, a condition must be the inclusion of a report provided by the local group leadership in the issue containing the advertisement.

d) The **announcement** of the meeting - as is the case with all other functions of the local group - should be carried in the central organ of the movement, the "Völkischer Beobachter," as well as in the recognized regional party papers, as this enables a complete picture of the movement's work, which is also good for the public.

All such advertisements and announcements should be **sent to the Propaganda Department**, not directly to the "Völkischer Beobachter."

e) A very effective and cheap form of advertising is to **carry posters** through the streets of the city on the day of a meeting. This requires police approval. The local group leader determines whether this is advisable under the given conditions. This is influenced by the political stance of the population and the strength of the opponents, but not by "bourgeois ideas of beauty."

f) For financial and propaganda reasons, **selling tickets in advance** is strongly recommended. This can be done by individual party members, or in several shops, in which case the posters must announce this.

4. The following principles should be followed when **holding meetings**.

a) Before the meeting, the speaker should be informed of the local political situation.

b) The meeting chair, with a witness, should assume control from the host.

c) Meeting protection should be assured either by a sufficient number of local or neighboring S.A. men, or by request to the police. The latter is particularly important in the case of meetings that may turn violent, for the riot damage act requires it. The state's responsibilities begin only when damages exceed 400 marks.

d) It has proven advantageous in certain meetings and in certain places to have a part of the S.A. in civilian dress scattered throughout the room in order to deal with expected troublemakers.

e) The chairman conducts the meeting. His introduction and conclusion should be at most 3-5 minutes.

f) Attendance by party members is both expected and tactically necessary, given the opponents. No party member should want to demonstrate, either by not appearing at all or by being inattentive, that he already knows everything that the speaker has to say.

g) In the discussion period, only **one speaker** from each party is permitted. Announce at the start that a speaker cannot give his speaking time to someone else. It is better in advance to give a speaker from another party a longer speaking time, if that is required by the local situation.

h) At the start of each discussion speech at difficult meetings, it is good to announce the time to the audience to keep the discussion speaker and his supporters from claiming that he has only spoken for 5 or 10 minutes.

i) Make propaganda during the meeting for the central organ of the movement, the "Völkischer Beobachter," either through brief words from the chairman or before the meeting and during the breaks with brochures.

k) Each meeting is to be closed by the chairman with a "Heil" to National Socialism and our Führer Adolf Hitler.

l) Singing a song at the conclusion of a meeting makes sense only if this can be done well. The meeting chairman should give directions. It is to be sung standing up, not by singing

one stanza as people are leaving. Thin and scattered voices by several party members make a bad impression, particularly when the opponent begins to sing his battle song.

5. **Reports.** A report for each meeting and each larger discussion evening is required. All reports should contain the unvarnished truth, and should be sent to the Propaganda Department, which will send abbreviated and corrected copy to the "Völkischer Beobachter." A meeting report should in general include no more than six lines, including the theme, attendance, speaker, success and impact of the meeting. Only when the speaker has treated an important theme in a fresh way is it necessary to summarize briefly his speech.

The Propaganda Department has to have the right to condense reports, lest the "Völkischer Beobachter" consist only of meeting reports that largely say the same thing. On the other hand, the goal of the meeting report section of the "Völkischer Beobachter" is to report the work of the movement throughout Germany, as well as the efforts of the local group and the efforts of the speaker. We suggest therefore that speakers make a monthly or quarterly report along these lines: "Party comrade ... spoke in these meetings, which were well, poorly, etc., attended. The Propaganda Department will include this information in the "Völkischer Beobachter" too, since good work deserves to be recognized.

A.III.1. In public people's meeting, the movement speaks authoritatively to the public. The **discussion evening**, on the other hand, serves to deepen the understanding of our idea and educate party members. It also allows for an exchange of views with racial comrades who are friendly toward the movement, or at least honestly uncertain. Through argument and counter-argument, they may be turned into supporters. Without doubt, the movement has deepened its cohesion through discussion evenings and won some of its best fighters. One discussion evening should be held every month. If no public meeting is held in a month, it should be replaced by a second (or even if possible a third) discussion evening.

A discussion evening is not a membership meeting, open only to a certain audience, rather a **public** gathering to which party members may bring guests or truth-seeking racial comrades.

Securing a speaker is not as great a problem as in a public people's meeting, Party members not rhetorically suited for a larger public meeting can do very well in a discussion evening, as long as they possess a firm grasp of the aims of the movement.

They will become increasingly better speakers, and the give-and-take with party members will help them become able to serve as discussion speakers at the meetings of other parties. Working out plans for discussion evenings in individual local groups, selecting appropriate and available speakers and assigning suitable party members with particular themes will always be one of the most important and fruitful tasks of the *Gau* leader, his subordinate, or the district leader.

2. The political, civic and cultural knowledge, as well as everything that has to do with the National Socialist worldview, covers an enormous amount of ground. We list here several resources for discussion evenings (the items in quotation marks are foundational for the area).

a) **The movement as Worldview: Development, Growth, Structure and Goals:**

Adolf Hitler, "Mein Kampf," volumes I and II
"Hitler's Speeches."
Alfred Rosenberg, "*Völkisch* Thinking about the State"
Rudolf Jung, "National Socialism"
The Hitler Trial

b) **The 25 Theses [the official party platform]**

Alfred Rosenberg, The Nature, Principles and Goals of the NSDAP
Dr. Josef Göbbels, The Little ABC of National Socialism
The Nazi-Sozi

c) **Foreign Policy**

Adolf Hitler, The Question of South Tyrolia
Mein Kampf, volumes I and II
For teaching, Hans Grimm, People without Space, novel, 2 volumes

d) **Economic Policy**

<u>Financial Policy</u>
Gottfried Feder, The German State and its National and Social Foundations
Manifesto on Breaking the Slavery of Interest
The Construction and Economic Bank
<u>For teaching</u>
Henry Ford, "My Life and Work"
"My Life and Work" (popular edition)
"A Great Today, a Greater Tomorrow"
<u>Agricultural Issues</u>
Dr. Rosikat, The Destruction of Farmers
World Struggle Nr. 26

e) **Cultural Policy**

Wolf, Applied Cultural History
Georg Schott, Cultural Tasks of the 20th Century
Langbehn, Rembrandt as a Teacher
Adolf Bartels, History of German Literature, 2 volumes
Jewish Origin and the Study of Literature
Paul de Lagarde, Writings for the German People, 2 volumes
Dr, Hans Günter, Knight, Dead and the Devil
Nüse, German Law

f) **German History**

Walter Classen, The Growth of the German People, 3 volumes
Einhart, German History
Dr. Wolf, Applied History
World History of the Lie

g) **The Racial Question**

Dr. Hans Günther, The Racial Study of the German People
Racial Pictures
Brief Racial Study of Europe
Nordic Thinking among the Germans
St. Chamberlain, Race and Personality
Herwig Hartner, Eroticism and Race

Dr. Clauß, Race and Soul

h) **The Jewish Question**

Fritsch, Handbook of the Jewish Question
The Jewish God
Warmund, The Law of the Nomads
Alfred Rosenberg, The World Struggle, quarterly
The Protocols of the Elders of Zion and Jewish World Politics
Immorality in the Talmud
Zionism as the Enemy of the State
Stauff v. d. March, The Jews in the Judgment of the Ages
Dr. Aug. Rohling, The Talmud Jew
Henry Ford, The International Jew, 2 volumes
Wilh. Meister, Jewry's Guilt
Artur Dinter, Illumination from the Talmud

j) **The Struggle against High Finance and the Dawes Plan**

Dr. Buchner, World Struggle, Nrs. 33 and 34
Gregor Strasser, World Struggle Nr. 21
Wilh. Reinhardt, Expert Testimony
Dr. Buchner, The Organization of Stock Exchange Pirates (World Struggle Nr. 35)

k) **Marxism**

Alfred Rosenberg, "Stock Exchange and Marxism"
"International High Finance as Lord of the Workers' Movement"
"Stab in the Back Documents"
Meyer Hermann, "The German Person," volume II
Dietrich Klagges, "What is Marx to Us Today?"

l) **Bolshevism**

Dietrich Eckart, "Bolshevism from its Origins to Lenin"
Miloftonsky, "The Blood Thirst of Bolshevism"
Alfred Rosenberg, "The Plague in Russia"
Dr. Gregor, "A Sea of Blood"

m) **Freemasonry**

Dr. Wichtl, World Freemasonry, World Revolution, World Republic
Alfred Rosenberg, "The Crimes of Freemasonry"
Karl Heise, "Freemasonry and World War," World Struggle Nr. 24, 30, 37

n) **Jehovah's Witnesses**

Fetz, "World Annihilation through Jehovah's Witnesses"

o) **Current Events**

Alfred Rosenberg, The Center Party and the Bavarian People's Party
Dr. Heim and the November Republic

p) **Weimar Republic, the Treaty of Versailles, and the War Guilt Question**

Frenthogh-Loringhoven, The Weimar Constitution
Verlag Reklam, The Treaty of Versailles (text)
Wohrhardt, "The Real Guilty Parties"
Demartial, Mobilizing the Conscience

q) **League of Nations**

Adolf Dresler, The League of Nations and World Finance

r) **Fascism**

Adolf Dresler, Mussolini and Fascism
Mannhardt, Fascism
For education:
Sarfatti, Mussolini
Mussolini, Speeches

All books listed here can be purchased from the Franz Eher Book Shop, Munich, Thierschsstr. 15, Postal Bank Account Munich, 11346,

It is also necessary for each local group leader to collect articles in our press and keep them in special folders so that he will have reliable, authoritative material to deal with all questions handled in discussion evenings and before the public.

We particularly recommend the series announced by Party Comrade Gottfried Feder in the "Völkischer Beobachter," Nr. 266 of 17 November 1926. As they appear, they will fill many gaps that exist today for discussion evenings,

And Adolf Hitler's office recommended the "Nationalsozialistische Briefe" on 11 December 1925, which provides current and principial treatment of issues. It is an important help in political work. It can be ordered from Elberfeld, Oststraße 69. It costs 1.50 marks quarterly.

Obviously, one should follow Adolf Hitler's order of 30 July 1926 and subscribe to the monthly "Weltkampf," published by Alfred Rosenberg. The "Weltkampf" costs 2.40 marks a quarter and can best be ordered through the Verlag Franz Eher, Munich.

The Propaganda Department will periodically announce other recommended publications that can be used for education.

The Propaganda Department is preparing a collection of material for discussions at the meetings of our opponents. As soon as it is financially feasible, a periodical will be published to instruct lower level leaders about the political situation, the activities of our opponents, and other such things.

The educational activity presumes a local group library, the value of which cannot be stressed too highly. An important condition for the spread of our worldview to broader circles is the support of party comrades by purchasing and disseminating our publications.

A. IV. **Visiting Other Meetings**

The movement's development always follows this course:

1. The enemy ignores the newly founded local group.
2. Attempts to mock the local group, which has grown despite attempts to ignore it.
3. Once the local group has become strong, terror is used against it in meetings and on the street.
4. The enemy is afraid of the successful movement and boycotts its meetings.

In the last stage, it becomes necessary for us to attend the opponent's meetings and speak during the discussion period. The tactical principle is: "Never lose touch with the opponent." Here are some guidelines to follow:

1. The local group leader decides whether to participate in the discussion period of an opponent's meeting and chooses the discussion speaker. He must be supported by a corresponding number of part comrades. The arbitrary selection of a well-meaning but unsuited party comrade as debate speaker is to be avoided under all circumstances. The disgrace of such a debate speaker will not fall on him, but on the movement.
2. It is advisable to talk personally with the opponent's meeting chairman in advance to agree on the speaking rime. If that is refused, of if there is insufficient time, one must consider whether one can and will participate in the discussion, or whether it is better to leave the hall, loudly announcing the reason. One should recall that there is no point to filling the halls of our opponent when there will be no opportunity for discussion.
3. Experience shows that the usually too brief discussion period is used unfruitfully if it focuses on what the opponent's speaker said. The best use of the discussion is usually to make strong attacks against the speaker's party and then clearly express our worldview and political line.
4. In the case of very short discussion periods, it is best to ask the opponent very precise and painful questions, which are best written out in advance, and demand that the speaker answer them. If the speaker does not answer these questions, he must be forced to by heckling. This should be done even at the risk of "serious differences of opinion" **[i.e., physical violence]**.
5. Material for this type of discussion will be given in the Propaganda Department's planned brochure "Discussion Material" and the planned regular updates.

B. Press

"He who complains about the national alienation of large parts of our people does not understand the situation as long as he fails to realize that it is no surprise in a time when the whole information system is nine-tenths controlled by Jews or their allies. Thousands and thousands of so-called "German" newspapers consciously and willingly contribute to the destruction of our national body. Only a few exert weak resistance, and hardly a one goes over to the attack.

The creation of a National Socialist press is our movement's most difficult task. It will determine in the future either our success of the final collapse of the German nation. Munich, 28 December 1925."

These words of the Führer show us the decisive significance that the printed word of the press has today for a political idea and worldview. Party comrades should always remember that our newspapers get no Jewish money, no Jewish advertising, and because of the fear and cowardliness of German businessmen, they also get few German advertisements. We are able to proclaim the truth only because our newspapers cannot be bought. But they will only be wasting their time if their work is not sacrificially supported by the promotional work of party comrades, particularly through subscriptions. Each major political party has its major

newspaper. What "Vorwarts" is for the Socialists and "Germania" is for the Center Party, the "Völkischer Beobachter" is for the NSDAP, and in even greater measure. Its survival and growth is a matter of the prestige of the party.

The existing weekly newspapers, some of which have a particular theme and others of which are *Gau* newspapers, are only supplements to the leading daily newspaper. They are valuable and necessary for the movement. We append a list of the official NSDAP press. (The Kurier for Lower Bavaria is not included, since as the result of a change in ownership it is no longer an official party paper.)

"Völkischer Beobachter," Central Organ, Munich,Thierschstraße 15
"Illustrierter Beobachter," Munich, Thierschstraße 15 **[an illustrated weekly]**

Weekly Newspapers

"Deutscher Michael," Augsburg
"Die Flamme," Bamberg
"Berliner Arbeiterzeitung"
"Der National Sozialist für Norddeutschland"
"Der National Sozialist für Westdeutschland"
"Der National Sozialist für Mitteldeutschland"
"Der National Sozialist für Rhein und Ruhr"
"Der National Sozialist für die Ostmark"
"Der National Sozialist für Sachsen" **[This series published by Gregor Straßer]**
"Der Streiter," Forschein
"Der Hakenkreuzler," Oberzenn
"Der Niedersächsische Beobachter," Hanover
"Westdeutscher Beobachter," Cologne
"Der Eisenhammer," Lambrecht
"Der Stürmer," Nuremberg
"Südwestdeutscher Beobachter," Tübingen
"Der Nationalsozialist," Weimar
"Oesterreichsischer Nationalsozialist," weekly, Vienna

Organized advertising for the "Völkischer Beobachter" and the rest of the party press is a prime task of the S.S. and the S.A. Each S.S. And S.A. member as well as every other diligent party comrade, should always be promoting the "Völkischer Beobachter" or some other National Socialist newspaper, and the greatest honor for successful promotion of the "Völkischer Beobachter" is to receive a picture of the Führer with his autograph.

C. Leaflet Propaganda

I. To have effective **leaflet propaganda** for the whole Reich that reaches the masses it is necessary for it to be unified. This is according to the will of the Führer and his colleagues who are in closest contact with him. Were each *Gau* and local group to produce its own leaflets, propaganda would be dissipated and the unified strength of the movement, which above all should be expressed in its propaganda, would suffer. For this reason, and because it is cheaper to print leaflets in large numbers, local groups **may distribute only the official leaflets released by the Propaganda Department of the *Reichsparteileitung*.**

II. 1. The first series of 10 leaflets is being sent with this brochure. It can be ordered at any time from the Propaganda Department for 30 pfennig. Future leaflets will be announced by the Propaganda Department in the "Völkischer Beobachter," and will be released in series of 10.

The limitation to ten leaflets, covering the battle against capitalism, agricultural questions, pay issues, railroad issues, the Zionist Protocols, the party program and a speech by the Führer, is unfortunately necessary, since as is the case of most things in the world, it is a question of money.

2. **Leaflets needed in a particular area** should be sent in draft form to the Propaganda Department, and may be printed with its permission. Just as is the cause with the official party leaflets, they should contain only the absolute truth.

3. The Propaganda Department requests good ideas for leaflets.

4. **Leaflets from the German Renewal Community of the Hammerverlag or those from other political organizations may no longer be used.**

III. Distributing Leaflets

1. Leaflets cost money, which we do not have a lot of. Leaflets therefore may not be thrown away or carelessly distributed, rather they are to be distributed where they will do some good. In the same way, old newspapers should not be thrown away, but rather reused as propaganda.

2. The **best methods of distribution**, depending on conditions, include:

a) Distributing leaflets on streets and public squares to passersby;

b) Delivering them to every house or apartment, and putting them in mailboxes;

c) Distributing them at closing time at large factories or buildings;

d) Distributing them from vehicles during propaganda caravans or on streetcars;

e) Regularly sending a particular series of leaflets, brochures and newspapers to a **particular** group of people we are working on. Old newspapers and the "Illustrierter Beobachter" are suitable here as well. It is worth the 3 pfennig in postage: one is more likely to read what he gets in the mail than what he is handed. That which comes in the mail is likely to be read, if only to see who is sending it. The next step is to invite the person to a discussion evening.

f) It is also good to leave leaflets, brochures and newspapers in railway cars, streetcars, restaurants and businesses where one shops, as well as in the offices of doctors and dentists and in public baths.

All party comrades whose job allows them the opportunity to meet many people every day should display newspapers, the "Illustrierter Beobachter," leaflets and brochures in their shops and waiting rooms, and should hang pictures of Hitler or the like.

The local group leader should constantly remind all party comrades to ask for the "Völkischer Beobachter," the "Illustrierter Beobachter," and other party papers in all the restaurants, train stations and newspaper sellers they visit.

g) Posting leaflets or putting them in display cases is another method of leaflet propaganda.

h) Local groups and propaganda wardens are encouraged to set up a **bulletin board or display case** (or several in larger cities), in which each day the "Völkischer Beobachter" can be posted, as well as new leaflets and brochures or other National Socialist newspapers, postcards, the "Illustrierter Beobachter," photographs of marches of the Storm Troopers, etc., which will have propaganda value.

D. Other Propaganda Methods

I. **Slides and Film:** To ignore the appeal of colorful pictures, sensations and the movies to people would be to neglect a very important way of propagandizing our movement.

We therefore use slide shows and films in our propaganda. We call attention to three possibilities:

1. Slide shows by **Captain Lieutenant Hellmuth von Mücke**on the voyages of the "Emden" and the "Ayesha". Such slide shows should be arranged with Party Comrade von Mücke himself, and at least two or three months in advance. Here as with meeting speakers, it is recommended for reasons of cost to work out a series of lectures within a *Gau.* Due to the many requests he receives, details must be worked out with Party Comrade Mücke two months in advance. Pay close attention to the guidelines that Party Comrade Mücke provides, and be sure the conditions for a slide show are present to avoid a deficit for the local group, since the costs for transporting the apparatus and pictures is naturally high. Party Comrade Mücke's address: Dresden-Loschwitz, Veilchenweg 32.
2. Slide shows from the **S.S. Headquarters** in Munich on the events between 1919 and 1923 in Munich. Requests, and information on the conditions and nature of the talk is available from the S.S. leadership, Munich, Schellingstr. 50
3. **Films on racial science, sports, the S.A.** And other topics will be prepared by the Propaganda Department itself and will be available for a modest cost along with the necessary equipment from here. Exact details and prices will be published in the "Völkischer Beobachter" as soon as the film service is established.

II. We also make mention of **picture posters** which promote our views (without inviting viewers to a meeting), or are pasted up during election periods where they cannot be torn down, and where they will catch the eye of passersby, making them aware of our ideas and worldview. The Propaganda Department will issue such posters, and announce them in the "Völkischer Beobachter."

III. **Propaganda Marches** by uniformed S.A. And S.S. units are a very effective method of propaganda when the number of participants, their organization and appearance are in order. If these conditions are not met, a propaganda march has the opposite effect. Propaganda marches must always be organized and ordered by the *Gau* leader, or at least be approved by him. Bands and music increase the effectiveness of such marches.

IV. Holidays:

1. Propaganda includes the appropriate celebration of **National Socialist holidays,** which have already become a tradition in the movement. These include:

a) the memorial for 9 November,
b) Christmas, with presents for unemployed party members and poor children,
c) The summer solstice on 22 June.

These are to be conducted in a simple and dignified manner, without incurring major costs.

2. In holding so-called **German evenings** and other such social gatherings, the local group should always remember that we are neither reactionaries nor bourgeois, and that these events can easily turn into slimy nationalism or songfests.

If it is necessary to hold such a German evening, usually for financial reasons, it should be conducted in a manner befitting the nature and dignity of the movement.

3. A word of warning about the numerous **German Rallies** held in the summer and fall months. The optimism of some diligent local groups results in large deficits for the local group, and even with the greatest economy on the part of the participating party comrades,

there can be a series of unanticipated expenses that affect the family budget and cause problems. And not meeting financial obligations naturally has consequences for the party.

National Socialism's major annual public mass meeting is the **Party Rally.** Attending it must be the sacrificial longing of each individual party comrade. The necessary funds should be saved by economy and by giving up on alcohol and tobacco over the course of the year.

The Führer's will is therefore that we not hold German Rallies. In any event, permission for such events should be secured in advance from the Propaganda Department of the *Reichsparteileitung* - and in advance of any kind of preparation. The request should include a justification of the need and a precise schedule, along with careful estimates of the cost. The Propaganda Department will then make a decision, after discussing the matter with the party leadership.

If the party leadership determines that the plan is unnecessary, it will ensure that speakers and prominent party comrades will not participate.

4. Point 3 does not refer to simple *Gau* meetings of the S.A., or a *Gau* meeting of party comrades from all local groups in a *Gau* on the occasion of *Gau* or country rallies. This includes only gatherings for which party members outside the relevant *Gau* or local group are not invited, and for which **the resulting costs are minor.**

E. Paying for Propaganda

I. Minor expenses for propaganda should never come from the local group's treasure. These include distributing leaflets in small numbers, buying stickers and postage stamps and postage for sending newspapers and leaflets. A propaganda warden who cannot secure the necessary donations for these purposes is unsuited for the larger tasks of propaganda.

II. The costs for larger propaganda actions covering whole neighborhoods or for working on entire classes and groups (e.g., railway workers, civil servants, the unemployed) can be paid for in part by the local group, but where possible they should be covered largely or entirely by the receipts from selling the propaganda items, books, brochures, "Völkischer Beobachter" and "Illustrierter Beobachter." Ideally, propaganda pays for itself. Of course, any profits from propaganda should be used to make more propaganda, not used for other purposes.

Statistics. To keep up-to-date, the Propaganda Department always needs information on the latest mass meetings and activities of our opponents. It is the central office to which information flows from towns and *Gaue* throughout Germany, enabling on overall view of the opponent's activities. This is useful for overall party planning, but also for our own propaganda purposes and to evaluate our attacks on the enemy.

F. Announcements and Material for Propaganda

I. Here are some **major one-time announcements:**

All local groups are to report by 15 April 1927 at the latest to their *Gau,* and all *Gaue* and independent local groups are to report at the latest to the Propaganda Department by 30 April 1927 the following information:

1. Each area or local group or *Gau* is to report all Jews living in the area, including as far as possible baptized Jews, with details on their persons, age, occupation and address. This is necessary in order to develop reliable statistics on Jews in the whole population.

2. Each area, local group or *Gau* is to report everyone in the area who belongs to any kind of Masonic lodge, regardless of its type. This does not include groups such as the Schlaraffia or the Druid Order (which are already known). Send in any available membership lists or other lists. Listing who belongs to a lodge is easy if one watches the meeting place or lodge building on the night of a meeting. Keeping a careful watch on these secret meeting places or synagogues where the leaders meet is always advisable. A list of Freemasons is necessary for the central office to keep an eye on these who want to covertly spy on us.
3. A list of the worst local opponents.
4. A list of names and addresses of all Germans known by party comrades who are living abroad. This should be announced to all party comrades ad discussion evenings. They should send the names directly to the Propaganda Department of the NSDAP, Munich, Schellingstr. 50.
5. A report of all opponent misdeeds, attacks and terrorist acts since the party was founded in the area. This report should include a brief and precise description of each case, as well as the results (loss of work time, hospital stay, etc.).
6. A report of all prison terms and fines suffered by party members because of political activities. This report too should include brief but precise details, since material from both reports will be published.

II. **Standard Reports due at regular intervals** to the Propaganda Department are included in the guidelines for the activity reports of the *Gaue* and local groups of the NSDAP, due on the 15th of each month.

We stress that local groups subordinate to a *Gau* should submit their reports to the relevant *Gau* office, whereas independent local groups submit their reports directly to the Propaganda Department of the *Reichsleitung.* Missing the deadlines will result in a sharp reproof, and in repeated instances, by informing the Führer.

III. **Regular reports to be submitted as needed** - as rapidly as possible - include:

1. News on layoffs and plant closings.
2. Railway accidents and factory accidents in the Dawes Railway
3. Statistics, newspaper reports and notices about demographic matters (birthrates, mortality, etc.).
4. Articles and reports about the party or its members, about meetings, etc.
5. Reports on Marxist, Jewish, Ultramontane and all other political scandals involving our opponents
6. Reports, as soon as they can be confirmed, of Jewish members of the German National People's Party, the Homeland and Royal League, the Stahlhelm, Jungdo, or any other national and "völkisch" oriented group.

All newspaper articles and clippings sent to the Propaganda Department should include the issue number, date and newspaper name, without accompanying explanation. The Propaganda Department will not acknowledge the receipt of such items.

Rights and Duties of the Propaganda Department

The Propaganda Department:

1. has the sole right and duty of publishing all party leaflets and propaganda material;

2. the right and duty to oversee the propaganda activity of all *Gaue* and local groups of the NSDAP, and to require changes and improvements;
3. the right to appoint speakers in larger local groups, independent of the *Gau.*
4. The Propaganda Department handles all propaganda correspondence, and is alone responsible for the area of propaganda.

Conclusion

This brochure is nothing more than advice and counsel for the propaganda activities of the NSDAP. The best advice is of no value if propaganda is not conducted by active and fanatic fighters with an unbreakable desire for battle.

We may never forget that propaganda is only an activity that wins ground and people for the organization of fighters, and wins supporters from the masses. It can only achieve its goals when it stays in constant touch with the people.

Every method that leads to this end is correct.

Propaganda is not conducted according to bourgeois standards. Our opponents, the Jews, capitalism and Marxism, should always be kept on edge and be unsettled by our propaganda.

Our activity should never cease; remember that we are fighting
for freedom and prosperity
and that our goal is
a National Socialist state!
Long live National Socialism!
Long live Adolf Hitler!

List of Available Leaflets, Flyers and Posters Published by the Propaganda Department

Leaflets:

1. Program Points
2. Revelations of the "Times"
3. Is This Your Battle against Capitalism, Marxist?
4. Bank Directors
5. The Misery of Unemployment
6. Farmers, Wake Up!
7. Rescuing the Rural Population
8. To those with Savings Accounts and Retirees
9. The Morgan-Dawes Plan and the Railway
10. The Social Mission of National Socialism

Illustrated Flyers

1. Workers, with an invitation to a meeting
2. Unemployed, with an invitation to a meeting
3. Farmers, with an invitation to a meeting

[A price list follows.]

Modern Political Propaganda

The source: **G. Stark, *Moderne politische Propaganda* (Munich: Verlag Frz. Eher Nachf., 1930).**

Introduction

Propaganda in cities differs in many ways from that in the countryside. The major reason is the entirely different life style of big-city dwellers. They are politically more sophisticated and have an entirely different attitude towards things.

The following observations focus on large cities, not on the countryside. However, the essentials of propaganda are largely similar.

The face of the city, as a center of production and consumption, is marked by advertising. The concentration of many companies leads to intense competition, which is won not necessarily by the firm with the best product, rather with the best advertising. Poster pillars, newspapers, billboards and so on hammer incessantly on the victim, until finally he bends to the power of the advertising firm and buys.

This out-and-out commercial advertising is aimed exclusively at earning money, and appeals only to the billfold. But the most effective advertising is not necessarily for the best product.

Political **propaganda** is something entirely different. It uses indeed in part the same methods to reach its goals, but rests on entirely different assumptions. Propaganda is by no means simply commercial advertising applied to the political, or spiritual arena. They seek only momentary effect, whereas political propaganda seeks the systematic enlightenment necessary to win supporters to a worldview. We recall the many comrades who gave their lives for the movement. They were propagandists of the deed up to the last breath.

The **Organization** of the party must be such that it is able to make good use of the citizens who have been won for the movement.

The Organization of Propaganda

The recognition that only a unified propaganda apparatus has the likelihood of success led the party headquarters and several regional offices (Gauleitungen) to create central propaganda offices. Where that has not yet happened, immediate steps should be taken.

The task of these propaganda centrals is to study advertising methods and see how we can use them, which requires above all a well-organized propaganda organization.

To this end each local group must train propaganda wardens, who will lead the entire local propaganda effort and are responsible for its flawless execution in their areas. These propaganda wardens, subordinate to the local and section offices, work closely with the cell leaders and cell officers, as well as with the S.A. It is often a good idea for the propaganda warden to train others in his section or local group to help him with his duties.

Of course, **each party member** should help out with propaganda. To be a member is to be obligated to serve. The S.A. is also obliged to be ready to serve at any time, regardless of the weather.

Regular party members should be grouped in units to carry out house-to-house propaganda.

A special group, skilled in hanging posters, should not be lacking.

The Gau offices provide sections and local groups with guidelines for propaganda. These guidelines should be on paper, and are finding for all sections and local groups. In propaganda department **meetings,** questions and advice for propaganda wardens will be discussed. **Regular meetings** of the propaganda wardens discuss current questions of propaganda. Special **educational courses** provide propaganda wardens with the proper skills. To support what they hear, special **notebooks** are produced.

The entire collection of propaganda material should generally be produced by the Reich or the Gau propaganda offices. Economics of scale save considerable sums.

Although the sections and local groups generally enjoy considerable flexibility, at particular times (e.g., during major campaigns, elections, etc.) they must follow precisely the plans of the propaganda central.

The press office is a branch of the propaganda department. It should receive clippings of all reports of attacks, meeting disturbances, marches and so on from both our own and the enemy press.

The Methods of Propaganda

To carry out propaganda effectively in the cities, it is necessary to understand the proper use of the most important methods of propaganda. It is above all essential that the propaganda warden does not follow advice coming from a desktop, rather that he is and remains in close contact with the people. Only he who understands everyday life, and who is familiar with events in political life, will be able to speak effectively to the people he wishes to persuade. Without that contact, advertising speaks in a dead language. **To see with the eyes of the masses - that is the whole secret of effective propaganda.**

There are four kinds of propaganda:

1. Propaganda through **the written word,**
2. Propaganda through **the spoken word**,
3. Propaganda through **mass marches,**
4. Propaganda through **cultural gatherings**.

1. Propaganda through the spoken word: flyers, leaflets, party newspapers and books, advertising circulars, apartment newspapers and factory papers, posters, stamps, other newspapers, N.S. stamps and postcards, banners and billboards, slides and films. Remember that it is against the law to use walls, building facades, street surfaces and so on. The following observations apply only to permitted forms of propaganda.

a) Not much needs to be said about the effectiveness of **stickers.** Their task is to be a constant reminder to the indifferent and to gradually unsettle them. Stickers in the wrong places are usually placed by the enemy to discredit us.

Identical stickers next to each other make a good effect. "Many drops wear away stone" applies here. Incessantly, repeatedly, people must see our stickers!

How should they look? They should be small enough so the person applying them will have enough saliva. They should be brief (few, but vivid words). The layout should be good, with no white space at the edges where graffiti can be written. Each party member should carry such stickers with him. One can apply them quickly and inconspicuously.

b) The **flyer,** with a few sentences, which is distributed on the street, has lost its effectiveness. It is soon thrown away, and its content, mostly only an announcement of a meeting, is hardly noticed.

Successful small leaflets (30 by 60 mm) that carry texts like this:

"National Socialists buy only in German shops. The middle class paper: the *Völkischer Beobachter."*

These small leaflets can be left in shops.

Another promising innovation is **flyers with caricatures.** A timely sketch by our Mjölnir **[a Nazi cartoonist]** with an appropriate caption is effective. Good pictures are also effective.

Flyers in various colors, but with identical slogans, some with caricatures, spread through entire city districts are effective. For example:

- Against Marxism and Reaction-the National Socialists!
- For Freedom and Bread-the National Socialists!
- Your greeting: Heil Hitler!
- Down with the party corpses! Power to the National Socialists!
- Become a National Socialist, all else is shit. The NSDAP has the welfare of the city in mind.

The slogans can be ordered from the propaganda department.

All flyers, leaflets, posters and so on that are posted should be attached in a way that makes them difficult to remove. Random application requires care, and is besides illegal. Our opponents use plate glass successfully; also display windows of German shops.

c) The **leaflet** should contain a brief, easily understandable idea. It should appeal to the enemy, which demands a certain skill on the part of the writer. The text can be **cruder in working class districts,** more **subtle** in the style of the Berlin democratic papers in middle class neighborhoods. The most important phrases should be in bold or larger type. Tiny text, bad organization and boring material kill interest. The interest of the indifferent, from whom one cannot expect much effort, must be awakened.

The legal issue here is important. The distributor of a leaflet is at risk when information about the printer or author is missing.

Information about distribution is given in rubrics d) and e).

d) **Special issues of party newspapers** have a special note in red at the top announcing a particular meeting. A rubber stamp can be used for this. Circle the date in red.

A **trial subscription** to our newspapers can have a remarkable effect on the average person who receives little mail.

Don't underestimate the impact of mailing advertising material and meeting invitations to those in the S-Files (Sympathizers file) maintained by local groups and sections. Mail is much more personal. Over time, it has its effects.

Each party member must ask for our newspapers in all restaurants, railway stations, newspaper kiosks and so on.

More than ever, it is important to provide reading rooms with copies of our papers.

And don't forget the little things, to which we owe much success. One always brings newspapers (new and used), leaflets, etc. along. At appropriate times, one "accidentally" leaves them in the train, streetcar, in restaurants, businesses in which one shops, in doctor and dentist offices, at the barber, etc.

Books are such an obvious means of advertising that nothing more needs to be said.

e) The **brochures,** which in contrast to leaflets provide the reader with more detailed treatments of various issues, suffer the disadvantage of costing sections and local groups considerable money. The Propaganda Department tries to provide these at reasonable prices

by printing large numbers. We are preparing a brief version of our party program in an edition of 150,000, which will cost 2 pfennig.

Brochures treating current issues will follow.

Party members in normal clothing are very effective when they distribute such brochures at busy corners. This propaganda is even stronger when the distributor has a sign that says something like "Free Brochure: How Long Will It Go On?" He who understands the psychology of the masses knows that people will take such brochures only when they are free.

Leaflets, free newspapers and brochures should be **distributed** only in such places where it is likely that they will be read immediately. Good places are in train stations, for those going to a train, **not** coming from one. People will read on the train, but not on the street. Another example: distribute in the morning at factory gates (**not** at the end of the shift). Then the material can be read and discussed during the breakfast break. Our leaflets and newspapers are also good reading for those waiting in the unemployment offices, for travelers in long distance trains, etc., anywhere where time must be killed and people will read anything.

The best success comes through the **systematic distribution** of advertising material from **door-to-door**. This should be done only on **Sunday mornings** so that people can read them at their leisure with their morning coffee.

Get every citizen a brochure on Sunday morning!

f) An important method of propaganda is the so-called "**neighborhood newspaper,**" which, following the Communist example, are produced for a specific area and distributed only there.

They contain news about our neighborhood activities and about the questions of the day. To keep the sections and local groups free from difficulty with the law, the political part is printed by a central office in the Gau. The sections and local groups need to produce only the general section, list the section meetings, the Gau meetings, and so on. An effective masthead is important.

g) The **factory newspaper** is modeled after the neighborhood newspapers. They are designed only for a single factory and cover work issues and political issues. To make them more interesting, events in the relevant factory are covered. These newspapers are monitored by a central Gau office. Typical mastheads: NSB-Scheinwerfer, Siemens-Lautsprecher, Lorenz-Aktie, etc.

h) **Posters**, despite their considerable cost, are the best form of propaganda, and in relation to their cost a cheap method of advertising.

Posters with text give a brief summary of a meeting and acquaint the reader with the goals of the speaker. It is well known that our textual posters have their own style, such that the attentive observer recognizes from a distance that it is something from the Nazis. Large posters in red must be designed so that they stand out on the poster pillar. A small poster is ineffective, and not in keeping with the significance of our movement. No one reads a poster stuffed with text. The top must be clear enough to draw attention. The bottom must also catch attention. The swastika should be used sparingly at first, particularly in middle class districts.

The headline must be large; it should dominate the poster. In general, only the name of the party should be emphasized in the text. The text should, as already mentioned, be short and make the meeting topic clear. A mention of our press is also appropriate.

Effective posters emphasize words that create a certain mood and can be noticed from a distance.

A good example was the familiar large poster of Gau Greater Berlin: Heil Kaiser Dir!, that had great success because it appeared at the right time (27. January) and at the right places in the proper size.

We are preparing examples of good posters and an article titled "Posters and leaflets from idea to reality."

The text poster fulfills its purpose when, besides the already-mentioned clear content, there is sufficient time to read it. If not, the picture poster is better. The effect of the picture poster lies with its capacity to be understood at a glance, to get across the spiritual attitude instantly, whereas the text poster needs a certain time to read and a longer time to think about. The hurried city-dweller does not have much time. Mostly, he only catches a quick look at a poster while walking past. The picture has to instantly say at a glance everything that a longer text poster says. Herein lies the difficulty. It is hard to find a riveting picture with a few catchy words. There aren't many Mjölnirs. For us, the picture poster is simply a question of money. Here too we are limited by financial weakness.

The posters from Gau Berlin for the Reichstag election of 1928 and the city elections of 1929 are familiar. The Rathenau poster from the "Angriff," halfway between a text and picture poster, had great effect. Unfortunately, it could be used only in a limited way. The illustration will be passed along to the individual Gau offices for use in other posters.

The advertising campaign for the "Angriff" was imitated by the Ullstein paper "Tempo," though to a degree corresponding to the financial strength of the firm. Our posters were:

Nr. 1. The Attack
Nr. 2. When will the Attack happen?
Nr. 3. "The Attack," the German evening newspaper.

Ullstein did it this way:

1. You lack Tempo!
2. You will soon have Tempo.
3. Tomorrow you will have Tempo.
4. "Tempo", the daily evening newspaper.

The legal side has already been covered in section c) (leaflets).

i) **Stamps** can be effective when used on letters, newspapers, etc. They should use very short slogans. It's a good idea to carry a stamp with one, in order to be able to use it whenever possible. As already mentioned, other posters may not be stamped; such stamps will be produced by the propaganda offices and distributed to subordinate units.

k) Too little attention is given to the **local press,** particularly in smaller towns. People learn about the NSDAP only from the standpoint of their party press. Our successes are either ignored or played down. Nonetheless, some local papers with wide readership do not oppose us. These papers are usually willing to print material we provide.

Meeting announcements in the **Community Calendar** are generally carried. There may be a small charge for longer notices.

Always send newspapers a brief, objective, but nonetheless informative **meeting report** for their local sections.

Advertisements in the middle class press are usually very expensive and only support the enemy. They should be used only when absolutely necessary. Favorable treatment of the meeting should be made a condition of buying an advertisement.

l) **Stamps**, which the Reich Propaganda Office produces in an attractive manner, are not lacking in effect. They can be placed on the first page of letters, on cards and so on in the bottom third. The price varies from 1/2 to 2 pfennig. The price of these stamps finances other propaganda.

Postcards of the movement should be sent to friends and acquaintances at every opportunity. They may even have an impact on republican letter carriers.

m) A simple but still effective form of propaganda is the **banners** with short slogans that hang in our large meetings. They can be used in smaller versions on trucks and vans. In such cases, be sure to protect them. Bicycle columns too can be used for propaganda.

n) Another method is the so-called **railway track advertising**. With the permission of the property owner, signs can be erected. The "Völkischer Beobachter" has won a large number of new subscriptions in this way.

Rooftop advertising is also useful, Unfortunately, it is expensive when the approval of the owner is required.

o) The use of **slide shows and film** depends on the available means. The party's first films have already been produced by the central office and Gau Berlin. A major film is in the works. We too should use the most modern advertising methods to serve our movement.

2. Propaganda through the Spoken Word

Propaganda by the spoken word-talking with the individual, study groups, discussion evenings, mass meetings, choruses-usually result from the written word. The two forms of propaganda are inseparable.

a) The most basic form of oral propaganda is the **discussion with the individual.** This form is still the most effective, since deep contact is established. It is easier to do that in this way than in study groups.

b) The **study group** deepens the idea and educates the party member, and encourages closer contact with citizens who are friendly or at least honestly uncertain about the movement. Through them we win supporters by give and take. Without doubt, the movement from its beginnings built the inner strength it needed and won its best fighters through study groups. Every local group should hold two study groups a month. If in a given month no public meeting is held, it should hold another study group.

A discussion evening is not a membership meeting, open only to a certain audience, rather a public gathering to which party members may bring guests or truth-seeking racial comrades.

Securing a speaker is not as great a problem as in a public people's meeting, Party members not rhetorically suited for a larger public meeting can do very well in a discussion evening, as long as they possess a firm grasp of the aims of the movement.

They will become increasingly better speakers, and the give-and-take with party members will help them become able to serve as discussion speakers at the meetings of other parties.

The speaker is the propagandist of the idea, who sacrifices his time, strength, health and material welfare for the movement. Recognizing his ability and caring for him provides support he needs.

It is a matter of honor for a speaker to meet his obligations insofar as it is humanly possible. Meetings should be held regardless of the attendance. The credibility of the party is at stake.

The speaker should keep in mind that although his activity in study evenings promises little fame, they often bring more success for the movement than a public meeting.

e) The public mass meeting is the place where an authoritative speaker proclaims the aims of our movement and the nature of our worldview with regard to domestic and international events to every class of the population. The meeting is therefore a matter of the prestige of the party and a source of strength. The manner of its preparation is the mark of a good local group or section. One should speak of a "mass meeting" only when the masses will really appear.

The theme of the meeting should always be chosen to reach the people, particularly the group that one wants to attract to the meeting. We distinguish between world view and current event themes.

The other way to chose meeting themes is to find sensational events, scandals of the Jews or Marxists, in particular events that can be summarized in three or four words. This encourages the masses to come from curiosity, anger over political events, or in the hope of hearing something advantageous given their financial or class interests.

Do not neglect either worldview or political themes. Otherwise, one either loses contact with the masses, or on the other hand attracts only the masses, not the valuable fighters we need. The goal is to build the enthusiasm of the masses from meeting to meeting so that they are eager to come, as was achieved in an exemplary manner in Munich during the years 1922/23.

The following **principles for conducting meetings** apply:

1. Before the meeting, the speaker should be informed of the local political situation.

2. The meeting chair, with a witness, should assume control from the host.

3. Meeting protection should be assured either by a sufficient number of local or neighboring S.A. men, or by request to the police. The latter is particularly important in the case of meetings that may turn violent, for the riot damage act requires it. The state's responsibilities begin only when damages exceed 400 marks.

4. It has proven advantageous in certain meetings and in certain places to have a part of the S.A. in civilian dress scattered throughout the room in order to deal with expected troublemakers.

5. The chairman conducts the meeting. His introduction and conclusion should be at most 3-5 minutes.

6. Attendance by party members is both expected and tactically necessary, given the opponents. No party member should want to demonstrate, either by not appearing at all or by being inattentive, that he already knows everything that the speaker has to say.

7. In the discussion period, only one speaker from each party is permitted. Announce at the start that a speaker cannot give his speaking time to someone else. It is better in advance to give a speaker from another party a longer speaking time, if that is required by the local situation.

8. At the start of each discussion speech at difficult meetings, it is good to announce the time to the audience to keep the discussion speaker and his supporters from claiming that he has only spoken for 5 or 10 minutes.

9. Make propaganda during the meeting for the central organ of the movement, the "Völkischer Beobachter," either through brief words from the chairman or before the meeting and during the breaks with brochures.

10. Each meeting is to be closed by the chairman with a "Heil" to National Socialism and our Führer Adolf Hitler.

11. Singing a song at the conclusion of a meeting makes sense only if this can be done well. The meeting chairman should give directions. It is to be sung standing up, not by singing one stanza as people are leaving. Thin and scattered voices by several party members make a bad impression, particularly when the opponent begins to sing his battle song.

If many communists are present, do not close with the national anthem. The following case demonstrates this. One of our well-known speakers spoke to a meeting with a predominately communist audience. After he had impressively demonstrated the whole miserable swindle of Bolshevist equality to the audience, the chairman wanted to close the successful meeting with the national anthem. The speaker whispered to him "Don't sing the national anthem!" The chairman said: "At the request of the speaker, we won't sing the national anthem!" This stupidity led the communists to say that we had good speakers, but

were still reactionaries, while the Stahlhelm members present thought we were concealed Marxists after all!

d) **Choruses** supported by a trumpet are effective. Several short, compelling sentences, repeated often, have a strong effect on a meeting. Be sure they have practiced, and are not in an awkward position.

3. Propaganda through Mass Marches:

The third type of propaganda includes **Demonstrations,** local S.A. marches, Gau and Reich party rallies. Here all that needs to be said is that good discipline is the best propaganda.

4. Propaganda through Cultural Gatherings:

Cultural gatherings are the fourth group. The influence of theater and movies on the masses is well known. One has to think only of Piscator or on Russian films like "Battleship Potemkin" and "The General Line." We must try to use these institutions for our purposes, and to combat the destructive influence of cultural Bolshevism. The N.S.Volksbühne and the N.S.-Filmbühne have been established in some cities already and have done well. They are not only a recreational outlet for party members, but also promotional gatherings. Our theater presents only works displaying the German spirit. The N.S.-Filmbühne, which strives to produce our own films, also shows films that put heroic thoughts in the foreground.

In order to use our films every day, we should attempt to supplement political speeches with films in the suburbs. Even the smallest cell can be reached and informed in this way.

This has been only a survey of propaganda. It must be used in various ways, but will be successful only when it is conducted by fanatical fighters with unbreakable wills.

How I Treat a Local Group Leader

F. Eckthaser

The source: *Wille und Weg,* 1 (1931), pp. 252-253

When the *Gau* or district has obligated me to speak for a local group, it is not necessary for me to write the local group leader informing him when I will arrive. The local group leader is intelligent enough to find out somehow when and how I'll get there. He'll be cross with me if I tell him everything. He'd also be annoyed if I tell him what I what I like to speak about. I leave it to him to choose the topic. If he choose a topic I can't handle, he certainly shouldn't complain if I don't stick to it. In order to avoid unnecessarily bothering the local group leader, I always try to arrive at the meeting hall a few minutes before it begins. The local group leader will certainly find me there and will be pleased that I am so punctual, even too punctual (since meetings always begin a half hour later than announced). Besides, if I came early the local group leader would have to be bothered to talk to me about what the audience thinks and what they want to hear. I like to save local group leaders the trouble. If I see that the meeting is poorly attended, I console the local group leader by telling him that my recent meetings have all been poorly attended and I have therefore waived my fee, but that today I can't do that because I don't have any money left.

In order not to overburden the few in the audience, I give a short but sharp speech. I tear everything apart and bitch and complain. How we plan to construct the Third Reich and how we will master the social and economic conditions, well, the local group leader will certainly have told his people that already. Besides, they'll see how it is done when the Third Reich arrives. Above all it is necessary to tell a lot of jokes so that the listeners can laugh heartily. The local group leader will certainly laugh too, and won't feel so bad about the new deficit. In my conclusion I won't say anything about contributing to the party or advertising the party press. And I won't say anything about joining the S.A. or the party. The people know that already. Besides, the local group leader can do that. He's always happy to be able to say something.

If I stay with the local group leader, I have a lot of time to help him reorganize his group. I have so much experience that I can use my visit to change the whole inner workings of the group to suit my tastes. Local group leaders in the provinces don't understand very much, so they are pleased when I help out.

If I am staying at the local group leader's home, I try to arrive after mealtime so that I don't disturb the normal routine. The local group leader's wife will surely be happy if I eat by myself.

When I leave, the local group leader will be delighted if I ask him to write his *Gau* newspaper to report on the success of the meetings I spoke at. In that way everybody will hear about his group.

That is the way I make myself popular with local group leaders.

How I Treat a Speaker

by Heringsblatt

The source: *Wille und Weg,* 1 (1931), pp. 188-189.

The speaker is a creature who knows everything. It is therefore unnecessary to meet him at the train station, since he will surely find the way to my house on his own. I live in a suburb outside town, so the two-and-a-half-hour walk will do him good. Speaking is a healthy occupation, after all; they are in good shape. When the speaker arrives at my front door, I'll still be at the office. Unless my wife is doing something else, she'll be at home. If she isn't home, the speaker can certainly find something to do for a while. We have a nice museum, for example, as well as the old Swedish fortifications. If my wife happens to be at home (though why should one assume she would be?), the process is as follows. My wife will bring him to the kitchen. Why should the poor man sit alone in his room and be bored? Neither my wife nor I want that. First my wife, then I, will tell him all our political opinions. We can talk about such matters better than anyone. That's a good way to start. Then we take out all the old family pictures. This is so exciting that he will scarcely notice the noise of my four children, rather despite the weariness caused by his long train ride (which isn't all that bad), he'll be able to listen attentively to my flow of words. After all, I want to be a speaker too some day. The speaker will see that I am already gifted.

After we have eaten, we go to the meeting. It's best to go on foot; a little rain doesn't matter. The meeting begins. My introduction should be as long as possible, since one must become known, after all. It's a pleasure to hear oneself talk. Then I introduce the speaker, and explain that he will now speak. After the speech, I make sure as many people as possible have a chance to talk to him. I've noticed that speakers just beam with joy when lots of people want to talk with them after a speech. If the Party propaganda central office has banned discussion periods after speeches, I hold one anyway. People want that in my area, and besides I thereby fight the slogan of the SPD **[Socialists]**: "The masses will win."

There are always a lot of people standing around the speaker after the meeting. That's time time to ask the speaker "How much should I pay you?" Of course, I know that it is uncomfortable for the speaker to ask for an honorarium. He will likely say "the cost of my train ticket, Mr. Heringsblatt." After all, one has to know to keep one's local group treasury full. I then pay the speaker what he asks for in coins. That way, everyone knows and hears what he is getting. Why shouldn't everyone know? Mostly I give the speaker only the return fare or even half of that-he can, I assume, walk the rest of the way!

"You tell me, my friend, that this speaker has over 2000 Marks in political fines to pay? Well, I never knowingly engage such a speaker. And please don't tell anyone, since we surely don't have the money to help him out!"

After we talk until 3 a.m. in the morning, we head home. You know that I live in the outskirts of the city. Someone takes a shot at us on the way home. My, what times we live in! The speaker sleeps on the sofa in the living room. Party member Knorpel wanted to get him a hotel room with a proper bed, but I want to be sure the speaker has the honor of sleeping on the local group leaders's sofa. We talk for another hour. Since I have to be up at six, I wake the speaker at 5 to give him the opportunity to bid me farewell. As we part, I encourage him to ask my *Gauleiter* **[the regional party leader]** for the part of the honorarium I didn't pay. My *Gauleiter* is happy to make up the difference.

Now you know why my local group never has any financial problems.

Coming Tasks of Rural Propaganda

by Gustav Staebe

The source: Gustav Straebe, "Nächste Aufgaben der ländlichen Propaganda,"*Unser Wille und Weg*, 2 (1932), pp. 135-139

One of the movement's most important sources of strength is its ability to move from one challenge that it has overcome directly to the next, following the example of its Führer. The millions who voted National Socialism on 24 April **[the presidential election]** and the active fighters may enjoy their well deserved satisfaction, but it has never been in the nature of National Socialism for its followers and leaders to fall into a kind of victory psychosis. Instead, we immediately evaluate the new situation and the increased efforts of the System to respond, then to decide what to do next. The Wilhlemstraße **[the government district in Berlin]** is the key to changing today's conditions. That is where laws can be passed to build the Third Reich and where National Socialist provincial governments can be supported. That is why the battle was continued in the five provinces where our electoral victory was greatest on 24 April, even on the very night of our success. Just as we have always felt it necessary to deepen the ideological understanding of our voters and newly-won members, so too this goal directly follows the election. We must use clever advertising to support our successes. Individuals must be persuaded to become convinced National Socialists by thorough work and forceful training. Only they will their confidence in a National Socialist government be unshakable, not to be weakened by a perhaps unpopular action by a National Socialist minister.

This essay discusses how such individual effort can best be used successfully with the German rural population. Adolf Hitler expressed the great importance of National Socialist rural propaganda in his 8 February 1931 speech to the First National Socialist Farmers' Congress in Weimar. The Third Reich would be founded in the rural population, or it would fail. "Show ourselves in the villages!" That is the guideline of our propaganda leader. The more National Socialism takes hold in the countryside, the stronger will be the foundation of the Third Reich.

It is to be hoped that farmer training courses will be held in every district. Wherever that was done before 24 April, the result was a good harvest. In those areas the Swastika flag flew from the most secure flagpole; there too it rested on the most effective public propaganda both in meetings and written form.

The farmers' educational weeks have had excellent results. The main credit belongs to their organizer and leader, Party Comrade Albert Friehe from Lower Saxony. Under his thorough and energetic leadership, a small army of knowledge-hungry German farmers and especially their sons gathered in many districts. Party Comrade Friehe and his untiring comrades, along with the district agricultural experts and leading farmers who were party members, organized courses in provincial towns easily reached from the surrounding villages. The courses were clear and easily understandable. Townspeople and rural people got to know each other better, and farmers and workers finally found the common path to a unity of the German people and their fate. A brief summary of the content of the courses: Preservation and increase of national strength, population, national health and culture, which can given new life and strength only in a new Reich. Blood and soil are once again a new symphony, as they were for our ancestors. There can be no improvement in agriculture and in guaranteeing the nation's ability to feed itself as long as German farmers see their purpose only in liberal-capitalistic and economic ways. Problems such as genetics and the racial question also came

to the fore in the courses, even if they unfortunately were often neglected in election propaganda. They are the highest thinking of the people's movement.

The farmers' educational courses also gave rhetorically gifted party members, and not only those from rural areas, but also those from cities who wanted to learn more, fundamental knowledge on overcoming liberalism, and therefore the proletariat. It gives him the resources he can use in future public meetings to build the worldview of National Socialism brick by brick.

Farmers' educational courses are the best foundation for a solid organization of the movement in rural areas. They are good not only for the rural population that hungers for such knowledge, but also lead to proper and effective rural propaganda.

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An important help is the most effective means of rural propaganda, the "National Socialist Rural Post." The "National Socialist Rural Post" is published on Adolf Hitler's orders and is the party's only official agricultural weekly. Its superiority to all forms of city propaganda was particularly clear in the last election campaign. When political leaders in agricultural areas reflect on the impact of the "N. S. Rural Post", its importance cannot be overlooked. Reports reaching the party leadership from throughout the country report its success, and make good suggestions for improving its content and level. To summarize the many responses, one might say: The "National Socialist Rural Post" is the most successful propaganda method to reach the German rural population. No other party has such a newspaper, since no other party has recognized like the NSDAP that changes in the political attitudes of the rural population can result only from using methods that can be understood by them and are consistent with their psychology. No one doubts the necessity of the "National Socialist Rural Post."

If coming issues of the "National Socialist Rural Post" are to reach the new rural voters in an understandable way that deepened their ideological understanding, the newspaper must be better publicized. In the interests of our larger goal, all concerns about local papers must be dispensed with. The "National Socialist Rural Post" is not a local paper, and will keep its national focus. It is not a competitor to other National Socialist newspapers. The results of recent weeks give the lie to those who thought that the "National Socialist Rural Post" had too little applicability to their area, and therefore ignored it. In just those areas it is most clear: the farmers wanted the "green paper," and asked also for our local papers. The "National Socialist Rural Post" takes firm root where it is properly promoted. In places where it is distributed without much plan and where there is no follow-up, people know what it is, but do not take the step of subscribing.

In the near future, advertising columns must go from farmer's house to farmer's house. Each farmer, farm worker or agricultural hand, and anyone else in the countryside, must be persuaded persistently, but not obnoxiously, to subscribe to the only National Socialist farmer's newspaper. If the propagandist is clever and persuasive, he will not leave a single house without at least having won a new subscriber. Encourage every new party member to send his subscription to the Verlag Frz. Eher, Munich, Thierschstr. 11. The next election will show where rural propaganda has been properly done, and where it has not been.

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If rural propaganda is to deepen the hold of our ideas, it is absolutely necessary to build a group of speakers who can address meetings in the villages. I proposed in this place some time ago that such training be separated form the Gau speaker courses. Unfortunately, my proposal found only limited acceptance. Separating the training of rural and city speakers is a prerequisite for success with the rural population. The Agriculture Department in the NSDAP's central office has a special section responsible for rural advertising. It is headed by

Party Comrade Metzner, formerly an associate of Fritz Reinhardt of Herrsching **[who ran the party's correspondence course for speakers]**. This office has the necessary material for training rural speakers and is ready to help the districts **[*Gaue*]** in establishing training courses.

In rural speeches, it is advisable to emphasize the positive, and restrict criticism to agricultural policy. The clear a speech, the more successful it will be. It would be good for our speakers to organize their speeches along these lines: Where is the System leading us (Pan-Europe), where does National Socialism want to go?!

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We all expect difficult political battles. We are nearing the final battle, and all our strength must be gathered and used. We cannot have a single farmer who rejects the only party that not only will help him, but sees in him the foundation of a new state. That only gives a weapon to the System. As we fight for the farming villages, we are fighting for food, for freedom, and for the independence of our posterity.

Tested Methods of Modern Propaganda

by Helmut von Wilucki

The source: Gustav Straebe, "Bewährte moderne Propagandamethoden," *Unser Wille und Weg*, 2 (1932), pp. 230-233.

The difficult election battle is behind all the parties. The Reichstag election of 1932 was particularly difficult for the NSDAP, since an enormous flood of lies from all the other parties, including the DNVP **[Conservative Party],** was directed toward us. The events of June even forced us in part into the defensive. That was naturally difficult for us, since in all previous elections we were always on the attack.

Since the KPD **[Communists]** did not particularly exert themselves in this campaign and since the other parties made greater efforts, but not in the area of propaganda, the main battle was between the NSDAP and the SPD **[Socialists]**. These two parties are the only ones that did anything new in the area of propaganda. This article will discuss the propaganda methods that proved effective in the last campaign in *Gau* Süd Hannover-Braunschweig.

In general, one can say that the SPD's propaganda was very clever and understood the psychology of the masses. They saw the significance of the swastika symbol, and how it seized the feelings of people and did not let them go. Therefore, they found a compelling symbol for the "Iron Front," the three arrows, and had the desired success with it. Along with other clever methods of propaganda, the three arrows encouraged many Social Democrats to new activity. Our counterpropaganda could not do much, since the three arrows of "activity, discipline and unity" aimed not at the mind, but at the feelings of the Marxists. We did our best to ridicule the "arrow" propaganda by connecting the three Sklarek brothers **[Jewish figures in a major Berlin financial scandal]** to the three arrows in the press, stickers and "visiting cards." Our large red flag with three white arrows and the large inscription "Manufactured by the Sklarek Brothers" won wide attention in heavily trafficked areas.

The SPD's "visiting card" propaganda worked only because of its novelty. We replied to it with our intellectually weightier visiting cards from the "Sklarek Brothers."

The SPD's weekly slogans during the election campaign, which came in circular letters from the SPD's party headquarters, were well thought out. For its supporters, the most effective slogan was: "Iron Front against Hitler barons!"

Fortunately for us, we secured a copy of the circular letter enough in advance to make some preparations. The SPD planned to use a slogan affirming the "welfare state" in the second week of July. We in *Gau* Süd Hannover-Braunschweig cleverly used the slogan in mass meetings during the first week, making it impossible for them to use it.

The SPD had planned to use the slogan: "For the welfare state of millions against the welfare state of the millionaires." We used the slogan "Against the welfare state of the bigwigs and profiteers, for work and food for millions." This reduced the effectiveness of their slogan and campaign.

The SPD used daily newspapers for propaganda, apparently following our example during past campaigns. We had good success by regularly delivering our papers to citizens. Their newspaper the "Volksville" used the method with which the SPD has always had the most success, namely the political lie. It used newspapers and leaflets to spread the lie about the "Hitler Emergency Decrees" of the Papen government. This seems to have had its intended success on a large number of retirees and relief recipients who were not capable of independent thinking.

Our most effective propaganda method was undoubtedly the Hitler mass meeting. The fact that the Führer placed all his energy in the service of propaganda, and the way in which he did it, had an effect on the masses of the voters. It was an event not only in our press, but also to some degree in other newspapers as well. As a result, not only those citizens who participated in the meetings, but everyone else as well was influenced by the spell of the Führer's mass meetings.

We had prepared by years of smaller meetings. That made the mass meetings in the grand style effective during the July campaign, particularly when they were supported by large marches. The S. A. march was always the movement's best method of propaganda. The Papen government's ban on demonstrations was intended to remove our advantage in this regard over other parties. We had already held the first small marches and had completed all preparations for the planned 24 July march.

We reduced our leaflet propaganda in favor of newspaper propaganda in *Gau* Süd Hannover-Braunschweig. We delivered an election newspaper to every house in every village, adjusting it to the audience. One version was directed to the rural population, another to industrial districts. During the last ten days of the campaign, we delivered our *Gau* newspaper, the "Niedersächische Tageszeitung" to every household in the cities and to the easily reached villages. That allowed us to refute the opponent's lies each day, and remind readers of our goals and previous accomplishments. Distributing the newspaper to the entire *Gau* was possible because we had a previously prepared plan that used the newspaper's existing distribution system.

Another part of newspaper propaganda is supplying the so-called "neutral" press with news and material supporting our views. We were able to provide numerous newspapers in the province with our *Gau* Süd Hannover-Braunschweig press service. Provincial papers have a difficult time of it. The editors are beginning to see that it is time to adjust to the electoral masses of the largest party. Many gladly accept our material, particularly since they can receive it without cost and ready for printing. Our opponents have always provided "factual" information to so-called "neutral" newspapers as a way of influencing the voters. It is obvious that we too have to use this method of propaganda.

Following the example of one local group, we used "personal" letters throughout the *Gau*. Model letters were provided to local groups. The letters were then reproduced either by hand or by machine, with personal address. Two days before the election, they were delivered to all voters, not only our supporters. There were different letters for people we knew to be Marxists, farmers, retirees, women, etc. Determining success is naturally possible only in a few cases. But many stories testify that such letters achieved their goal.

We made increased use in this campaign of flags and banners. Election banners in our party's colors, seen daily by passers-by, surely had an impact. Electric lighting and loud speaker music ensured that they could also be seen at night.

It is particularly effective if Hitler's flags can dominate the streets during an election. Unfortunately, one has to work hard to persuade supporters to do this. The only place we succeeded in getting really well-flagged streets was in Hannover, and that took constant effort. A corresponding number of the opponent's "arrow" flags made their appearance too, producing a kind of "election psychology" even in those who were otherwise inattentive. We also distributed thousands of small flags with a swastika and the slogan "Vote for List 2", with which children and adults made heavy use in the days before the election **[each party had a numbered place on the ballot]**.

We used sound films for the first time in this election campaign. Despite limited time, we succeeded in arranging about 200 performances in 70 places. Sometimes we were able to have our film shown during regular movie shows. Usually, we arranged special events in conjunction with the film. The films were everywhere received with interest and enthusiasm.

The films with the Führer and party comrades Dr. Goebbels, Straßer and Göring were particularly successful.

25,000 fellow citizens saw an outdoor showing of "The Führer Speaks" and "German Arms - German Honor." We used a 10 by 13 meter screen. We can already tell that sound films are a valuable addition to our propaganda activity, particularly when lower rental costs will give local groups the chance to make a small profit.

Loudspeaker wagons are particularly during campaigns, since they allow us to overcome Marxist efforts to keep people away from our meetings, as well as the indifference of those who do not attend. They cannot ignore a 15-20 Watt loudspeaker in the streets of a small town or village, even if they want to. We began each time with march music to set the proper atmosphere for the recorded speech by a well-known party member that followed. We closed with a record of a group singing the Horst Wessel Song. Local group leaders repeatedly told us that this propaganda is particularly suited for areas in which meetings are not successful.

The usual forms of propaganda must naturally be continued after the campaign to firm up the voters we have won and win new supporters. Sound films will have a major role from now on. We also need to provide good German theater and musical events, with the works of German artists. We must make it possible for every citizen to attend such an event monthly for a low price. That is one further step to breaking the Jewish domination of the arts and to winning back the German people's soul.

Our Speakers in the Anti-Marxist Battle

by Fritz Oerter

The Source: Fritz Oerter, "Unsere Redner im antimarxistischen Kampf. Die Bilanz eines Wahljahrs," *Unser Wille und Weg*, 2 (1932), pp. 350-356.

As we review the Reichstag, provincial parliament and city elections of 1932, we must conclude that the day of huge mass meetings and mass marches is over, at least when it comes to winning new supporters for the National Socialist movement.

Those citizens whom we could interest in our world view through marches and mass meetings, the sensible members of the middle class, have been reached. The "middle class" reactionary front has been ground down - despite their election "victory" of 6 November. Nationalist circles are the ones that increasingly visited our mass meetings, that saw our marches with growing enthusiasm, and remain today about 95% of the attendees at our meetings, though they have long since been won over to National Socialism.

But this loyal core of National Socialist supporters will surely grow weary of filling our mass meetings. In some *Gaue,* it is already true that only the most familiar leaders of our party like Hitler, Straßer, Goebbels, Goering, Frick, etc., are able to bring out crowds in the tens of thousands. The high point of this form of propaganda is over, and we must now reach those circles which our propaganda so far has unfortunately been unable to reach in sufficient numbers.

Let us be honest with ourselves. The road is free and open, but our main enemy has done unexpectedly well in resisting the National Socialist advance. We have certainly succeeded in fragmenting the Marxist front and in winning a large number of former Marxists for our worldview. The Social Democrats are fighting desperately for their survival, and thanks to National Socialist educational work hundreds of thousands, even millions of people who once were firm supporters of the Marxist nonsense are beginning to waver. They are looking into the National Socialist movement, naturally against the wishes of their "leaders." Still, Marxist propaganda, and especially its press, regularly succeeds in leading people have have seen the light back into error, and bringing them back under the control of Marxist party leaders.

Why? In opposing Marxism, we oppose a deeply-rooted worldview that is based on over sixty years of intensive work. It is in turn founded on the still older liberal world view and economic order. It enjoys not only the protection of tradition, but the strength a younger movement can bring to bear against an older one. Liberalism was not able to resist Marxism. The liberal parties and ideologies could only fight defensively against a worldview with greater strength and clarity of purpose. Even the Marxist worker who long doubted and sought for something better eventually had to conclude that Marxism is the only world view that can bring a new and better society and economic order. Who can hold it against him that he rejected the forces that denied him equality and a share in the results of his labor? The German worker absorbed Marxism in his parents' home, and was surrounded by people who thought the same in the workplace. In what remained of his sound understanding, he knew that there was a flaw somewhere in the world view. He realized that there was a catch somewhere to the lovely teachings of "expropriating the expropriators," of "the equality of everyone with a human face," of "international brotherhood," of "international solidarity," but he did not know where, and there was no one to show him the contradictions, the weak points in the thinking of Karl Marx and his followers.

Thanks to our ten years of educational work, he is suspicious. He became a seeker, a doubter, but unfortunately only a few of his comrades have found their way to us. The 1932 election results prove this. We have made inroads into the ranks of the SPD **[Socialists]** and the KPD **[Communists]**, but not to the extent that the "leaders" of the Marxist parties have deserved as a result of their inability, incompetence and contradictory policies.

Every National Socialist fighter who speaks to meetings of Marxist workers must recognize this and draw the necessary conclusions. The Marxist party "leaders" have made mistake after mistake. They have promised everything since 1918 and delivered nothing. They have worked a hundred times with Jewish racketeers and a thousand times with capitalism. They are responsible for all the need and misery of the German people, and of German workers. Yet if our Reich, *Gau* and country speakers do not succeed in reducing the Marxist nonsense propounded by the Socialists and Communists to absurdity, their sacrificial work will not succeed in widening the breach in the Marxist front. Without that, the deceptive Marxist worldview will fail to collapse in the manner of those organizations that supported calcified liberalism.

We should not take Marxism lightly! To defeat the enemy, we must know its weapons. If its weapons are good, we must have better ones if we are to survive. Only when we know, and know precisely, what Marxism teaches can we succeed in convincing the Social Democratic and Communist workers of the unfruitfulness of this doctrine, thereby making National Socialists of them. Of course, it remains necessary to show German workers who are still enthused about the doctrines of Marx, Engels, Lassalle or Lenin what kind of "leaders" they have. However, revealing the nature of their "leaders" and policies shakes only their confidence in their party, but rarely their attitudes about the worldview.

Our propaganda, our intensive educational work, must make clear to the German worker that the aims of the "Communist Manifesto" and the "Erfurt," "Görlitz," and "Heidelberg" programs, proclaimed for decades, are impossible and utopian, and that the materialist philosophy and economic system of the "Capital" are erroneous and lead in the wrong direction. We must show them that this is the reason for the behavior of many Social Democratic and Communist "leaders." They have no choice but to play such a treasonous role. Only if we do this will Marxism's supporters give up all hope of a future Marxist state and become willing to consider true German Socialism.

The conclusion is simple: **Training, untiring and thorough training is necessary!** It is necessary not only for the members, whom some functionaries and speakers handle as if they were a bit stupid, but for everyone at the political front. For officials and speakers, anti-Marxist training is of the greatest importance. Unfortunately, many of our speakers - and often not the worst ones either - have completely avoided training about Marxism. True, they understand National Socialist thinking, but not Marxist views and theses. They are like army officers who have good soldiers, but do not know how strong the enemy is or where he is located.

That is why there are complaints about this or that speaker in nearly every Gau. Party members want better education, better speakers, to enable them to hold their own against opponents, even if a question comes up that goes beyond current events. Marxist meeting visitors have been worked on through the lies of an unscrupulous press. They are especially critical. A single ill-chosen phrase or the least sign of uncertainly drives these citizens away, and some who were making their way toward us are lost forever. Our work has made them distrust their own leaders, but the long rabble-rousing of their "leaders" has also left them suspicious about National Socialist thinking.

It is nonsense to think that a popular style of speaking (which often turns out to be vulgar) is enough to win sympathy for the speaker in a meeting of workers. The opposite! The Marxist worker can tell what is genuine and what is artificial. When he sees that a speaker has

taken on a "popular" style of speaking, or that he wears a shirt without a collar, or rolled up sleeves or other things like that, he becomes reserved and critical. Obviously a workers' meeting is not a university auditorium. The speech must be simple and clear. But coarse language and shabby clothing generally harm the overall impression, just as do an elevated, lecturing style and elegant dress.

There is too much of this going on, in part due to a lack of through training that is replaced by outward appearances. Unnecessary exaggeration is also harmful. For example, a speaker at a meeting of workers before the 6 November election announced that our vote total would rise significantly and that we would win 250 seats. The half-won Marxists lost faith in this prophet and the world view he preached. Even worse, some National Socialist speakers who fail to understand Marxism's idea of class struggle said that the NSDAP might call for a general strike if Herr von Papen dared to dissolve the newly elected Reichstag. Similar exaggerations, of which there were unfortunately many, destroy everything that the speaker thinks he accomplished in his speech.

One mistake is particularly common. When National Socialist speakers who were formerly Marxists speak in workers' areas, the publicity often says : "The former Marxist union secretary so-and-so will speak on the theme "Marxism or German workers." The Marxist worker attends such a meeting to hear a discussion of worldviews. He is deeply disappointed when he gets only a normal discussion of current events, which does not in any way make it easier for him to decide which worldview to support.

What good does such a meeting do the Marxist worker? He knows that his "leaders" have betrayed the "goals of the revolution." He knows they supported the Young Plan. He knows that Soviet Russia is not a land of milk and honey. He knows that National Socialism is fighting von Papen. He knows that Hindenburg was supported by the Social Democrats and some in the KPD. He did not come to listen to a former Marxist speaker to hear these things again. He wants to hear something different. He wants to know why this former Marxist left the red flag and now fights for the swastika. He is a seeker. He has lost faith in Marx and his doctrines. His world is threatening to collapse, and he wants a new and better worldview.

The former Marxist who found a new worldview in National Socialism should help his former party members to make a final break with Marxism. He should make it easier to for them them to become National Socialists. The Marxist worker wants to hear why the speaker today opposes which he once honestly fought for, perhaps for more than a generation. He wants to know why the speaker chose National Socialism, and how it is superior to Marxist thinking.

The attitude of a large part of the Marxists who come to our meetings can be summarized in this way: They no longer believe their "leaders"; they doubt Marxist doctrine; they look to the worker-speakers of the National Socialist people's movement to find a justification to bring them from Marxism to National Socialism.

They want a plausible justification and good reasons for doing what they instinctively feel. For decades the materialist worldview was pumped into them. They learned to evaluate everything from a materialistic and rational perspective. As convinced Marxists, they were ruled by cold, clear reason, not be feelings. Mind and stomach, not heart and soul, were the driving forces behind events. In their heart and soul many of these former Marxist workers are already National Socialists; only their materialism keeps them from breaking with the false gods of the past.

The movement's speaker has the task of making it easier for Marxist workers to break with the past. He must be ready and able to give these citizens a logical basis for their emotional longing for National Socialism. He can do that only by knowing the Marxist worldview as well as he knows his own. He must be able to deal directly with the ideas of

Marxists in the audience. He must be able to handle even the best Marxist discussion speakers.

Can every National Socialist speaker do that? No. The news from the *Gaue* proves it. The order of the day is thus training and more training. Some good National Socialist literature already deals with the fundamentals of Marxism. The National Socialist who has read these materials and understood them is capable of dealing with the average Marxist speaker, but not with well-trained Marxist speakers who have a solid understanding of the writings of Marx and Engels and who have mastered them. Therefore, the training should be conducted by party comrades who have studied Marxist doctrine in depth and are able to cross swords with even the best opponents from the Marxist camp.

Unfortunately, many diligent speakers have the incorrect belief that they do not need to learn anything further, that it is enough if they keep up with current events. They will know better once they have participated in a well-organized training course in which Marxist workers with better than average political education defend their worldview against the attacks of National Socialism. In such a course, the National Socialist speaker learns what he is lacking in order to be able to win the German worker to National Socialism. In fair and factual ways, but also in compelling and precise form, these training courses discuss the worldviews of National Socialism and Marxism. These discussions prove that the National Socialist worldview is far superior to Marxist ideology, but also that Marxist spokesmen, including minor functionaries and speakers, enjoy training that could be of great value to some of our speakers in workers' meetings. The lack of such training is the reason that many of them lack the success they desire.

When our Führer determines Germany's fate, such training will be of particular importance. Hand in hand with the practical refutation of Marxist theories that will come by realizing National Socialism, we need an intensive theoretical education of the working masses in order to free the last German worker from internationalism and materialism. They need to be persuaded of German idealism, of the principle that "the common good goes before the individual's good."

This is hard work, but the goal is worth it. **Millions of German citizens will once again believe in their race, fatherland** and social justice. To work, then, you National Socialist fighters against Marxism and Reaction! Prepare yourselves for the final battle against Marx and his followers! Then victory will no longer be denied us!

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14 Days in a **Gau** *Propaganda Office*

by August Sill

The source: "14 Tage Mitarbeit in einer Gaupropagandaleitung,"*Unser Wille und Weg,* 5 (1935), pp. 207-210.

An organization has value not only when it is intelligently and effectively organized, but also when it remains lively. What good are newsletters and lists, card files and statistics, when the organization itself calcifies and becomes paralyzed, when each branch fails to remain in contact with the whole? Only from such liveliness and mutual cooperation comes independent and responsible action. *Only a living organization guarantees success!*

The *Gau* Propaganda Office [*Gaupropagandaleitung*] in Württemberg is an excellent example of this truth. Clear guidelines organize each propaganda action. Each *Kreis* receives the speakers it needs, timely posters and leaflets reach the most distant village. In turn, the political leaders of the *Kreis*, local groups and neighborhood groups inform the central office of their activities and plans. Close relations between the central offices and the subordinate units are thus maintained. And the GPL has found yet another way to maintain close contact. *Kreis* propaganda leaders spend ten to fourteen day periods working at the *Gau* propaganda office, giving them direct experience with its day-to-day work. This also established personal relationships between the *Gau* and *Kreis*, which can be extraordinarily valuable in that those at the political front lines come to know the *Gau* propaganda leader and his staff. They learn the working practices of the *Gau* office and can take what they learn back and apply it to their *Kreis* as it is appropriate.

In this article, I will present my own impressions of the *Gau* propaganda office. I was pleasantly surprised, as I began my work, to see how small the office is. The *Gau* propaganda office has only three rooms, and these rooms are simply and practically furnished.

In the reception room, which is also the workroom for the secretarial help, the visitor sees a large glass showcase. It includes awards and posters, but also displays in an eloquent way every manner of national *Kitsch*. One an hardly believe what money-hungry fantasies have brought to the market. Thank God, such "citizens" are called too account by the watchful eye of National Socialist propagandists. The display provides an educational display of what decorations and goods are worthy of the German people, and which are not.

The second room is occupied by the Department of Active Propaganda. It handles the meeting system, the assignment of speakers and the distribution of posters and pamphlets. It also receives plans and activity reports from the *Kreis* offices. In several suitable cabinets, one finds election statistics, election plans and reports. Election posters and pamphlets from all national, provincial and town elections from 1919 to 1933 are preserved. Other cabinets contain propaganda writings, brochures and newspapers of the NSDAP and the Marxist parties from the period of struggle for power. There is a particularly interesting archive of pictures of each meeting and mass meeting of the years of struggle, as well as those since the seizure of power. To ease the organizational work of the department leader, carefully maintained files of the *Gau* and *Kreis* speakers guarantee that he can at any time send the right man to the right place.

The critical decisions, the campaign plans for meeting actions and the documents for all significant propaganda activities are kept in the office of the *Gau* propaganda leader. He and his closest collaborators here direct the National Socialist press, film and radio.

It is astonishing, indeed hardly credible to an outsider, that the huge, all encompassing propaganda activity for the entire *Gau* and its 64 *Kreise* are directed by this office with its staff of five.

Through happy accident, I was there at a time of intense activity. It was the week before the referendum of 19 August 1934, the day on which each German was to decide if he was willing to give his full confidence to the Führer. This referendum, of vast importance both domestically and internationally, demanded the full energy of the entire propaganda apparatus. That meant: the full efforts of everyone! Each *Gau* and *Kreis* speaker had to be in constant readiness, even if it meant giving up a longed for vacation in the Island of Sylt or a well-deserved visit to the Bavarian Alps. They all heeded the telephone call. As proclaimers and preachers of the National Socialist idea, they spoke day after day in mass meetings from place to place, from city to city.

The walls of the office for active propaganda were covered with two large tables showing the operating plan of a modern political battle, which were color-coded to show the 64 *Kreis* and 80 *Gau* speakers. At a glance one could tell when and where a particular *Gau* speaker had spoken. This clever plan of meetings and speakers, along with the news service of the propaganda office, worked flawlessly, even when a speaker was hindered by illness or other reasons.

Together with speaker assignments, the necessary posters, leaflets and other material had to be distributed. The entire enormous task was accomplished with the help of only a single additional worker.

The effort was crowned by success. Once again, the "ancient and magical force of the spoken word" had led to victory.

After days of intense effort, the final reports came into the *Gau* office. Some *Kreis* leaders could not resist bringing in their reports personally. With pride and satisfaction, the *Gau* propaganda leader was able to announce on the morning of 20 August: "*Gau* Württemberg was among the best in the Reich. Once again, the hard-headed Schwabians have done their duty."

The Propaganda Warden

The source: "Der Propagandawart," *Unser Wille und Weg,* 3 (March) 1934, pp. 26-28.

The rise of the German freedom movement from seven men to a party of millions, and then to the party of the state, and a party not only in possession of the might of the state, but also of the hearts of its people, is inextricably bound to the activity of propaganda. The work of propaganda made known to the public the name, nature and goals of the young NSDAP, and in the following years won over ever new masses of racial comrades, filling them with the idea and the spirit of National Socialism, making them fellow fighters in Adolf Hitler's cause. Today the movement has reached its first goals, the conquest of state power, and complete responsibility for the fate of the German people. Now it turns to the next goal, to transform the whole German people into thinking and acting National Socialists, making of Germany a 100% National Socialist state.

The future task of propaganda, and of each propagandist, is therefore not smaller than it was during the years of struggle, rather larger and even more important. It will take great skill to imbue our people with National Socialist thinking and above all to make clear to them the reasons for National Socialism's goals and policies. The variety and significance of the task is enormous. Thus, only the most capable party comrades should lead and direct propaganda activity.

In the local group, the lowest level of the political organization, the work of propaganda is the responsibility of the local group propaganda warden. He has a lot of work and great responsibility. The mood of the local group and in the broader population in the territory of the local group, the readiness of racial comrades to sacrifice, and the willingness to join in constructive work are the result of the work of the propaganda warden. All of these factors make clear the importance of the work of propaganda. If the local group is near a larger town, the seat of a *Kreis* or *Gau* office, the work will be a little easier, since it will be easier to get a party member as a speaker for an educational evening or a meeting. Things are different if the local group is not near such a town. Every *Gau* has countless villages and local groups that are isolated, often hours away from the next town, and far from a railway or other means of transportation. In these places, a propagandist has to rely on himself, and particularly in such situations it is critical that the propaganda warden have real propaganda skill and experience.

This requirement is often sinned against, which is no secret and does not need to be concealed. The *Gau* and *Kreis* propaganda leaders can say a lot about it. In some of the local groups founded in the past year, and even earlier, people were appointed to various posts in the same way as in a bowling or skat club. The local group leader announces at a membership meeting that the *Gau* office has ordered the establishment of a new position and the appointment of someone to fill it. He looks around until he finds a "victim." "Müller, you could do it." Müller has no idea what to do, and mutters something suggesting both a willingness and an unwillingness to accept the post. He is consoled by words along these lines: "It's OK. There isn't much to do, and the main thing is that we have someone listed on paper so that we can tell the *Gau* office."

In nine cases out of ten, this will prove a mistake. Müller brings more or less to do the job, doing things half-way, or at least not to the degree that is expected. The result is usually a letter to the *Kreis, Gau,* or Reich propaganda office that goes something like this: "I have been appointed local group propaganda warden. I have not done anything like this before, and am not sure what I am supposed to do. I would appreciate the corresponding directives."

The good will of the party comrade is not to be doubted, but neither the local group nor any higher office can expect much of such a "propaganda warden." Ability is not learned through directives, rather it must be learned through practice and struggle. Directives and the like are but helps and support, which make the work of the propaganda warden easier and show him the direction of the next propaganda campaign. But they will never be the foundation on which so multi-faceted a field as propaganda can be based. Particularly in newly-founded local groups, experience shows that it is critical that the local group leader appoint people who are suited and capable. There is almost always a party member with some talent for propaganda. Finding him and putting his talent to good use is the responsibility of the local group leader. His task is not only to appoint people on paper, rather he has the duty and obligation to find only party comrades who are willing to take on the job, but who also have the knowledge and experience to do it successfully. The propaganda warden is the heart and most active agent of a local group's propaganda, and a selection according to these criteria is the prerequisite for the educational work of the coming weeks and months.

The second major National Socialist campaign against German unemployment will begin in a few weeks. The propaganda warden in particular must demonstrate his skill and ability in this great campaign. More than two million racial comrades gained work in the first great campaign. Each propaganda warden must put his full efforts in the coming weeks and months to help find work for as many as possible of the remaining 3,750,000 unemployed racial comrades. The Führer's appeal to create new jobs for our racial comrades must reach into the most distant Alpine valley and the loneliest reaches of the heath. The propaganda warden is responsible to see that the call reaches every last racial comrade, and that everyone recognizes his duty to assist the German nation in this regard.

The great responsibility that rests on the propaganda warden alone shows clearly the duties of his position. The campaign must reach into the last German hut, to every last racial comrade. Propagandists will have increased duties and responsibilities in the coming months. This more than ever requires that the position be given only to party comrades who are really suitable and capable, who are able to devote their energy and strength fully to the movement and our worldview.

The Work of Propagandists in the National Socialist State

by Hugo Ringler

The Source: *Unser Wille und Weg,* 4 (1934), pp. 293-301.

The 1934 Party Congress belongs to history. The hundreds of thousands of participants, after a week of powerful experiences, have returned to their homes and jobs. Political leaders received directives for the coming months at the Party Congress and at numerous special conferences. Every party office, every political leader from the Gau down to the very last local group is now intent on carrying out the plans laid out at Nuremberg, to work for the best of the National Socialist Party and thereby that of the German people. It will be the goal of each participant to meet the goals laid out at Nuremberg not only approximately, but entirely, to further the building of the new state.

The propagandists of the movement of course will follow the general line, particularly as laid out in the proclamation of the Führer. But they will have two further sets of goals as well: those of the major speech by Party Comrade Dr. Goebbels at the Party Congress, and those of the special meeting of the Gau and Kreis propaganda leaders held in the Appollo Theater. Dr. Goebbels' remarks at the Party Congress to more than 20,000 political leaders are contained in a supplement to this issue. This should be read. Of no less significance and importance for propagandists is the speech the Reichspropagandaleiter [Goebbels] held at the special meeting. It is regrettable that the Appollo Theater is too small to allow all political leaders to hear the speech. The words of Dr. Goebbels are valuable resource for the 1400 Gau and Kreis propaganda leaders and their associates and speakers who were able to attend. A fresh breeze blew through the Appollo Theater. Dr. Goebbels dealt bluntly with objections, and showed how propaganda must be conducted to keep such objections from developing. Here is a brief summary of his remarks.

Everyone must work just as hard today when the National Socialist movement is the ruler of the state as he did in the days when our movement was fighting for power.

That does not mean that propagandists should stop looking for new methods and new ways to improve their work. This is particularly true since some methods and means that were successful during the struggle for power are now outdated or stale. These methods must be replaced by new ones. The Führer in his proclamation set the goal of winning those citizens to the National Socialist world view who were still outside our ranks on 19 August 1934 [the referendum giving Hitler complete power]. We must do everything possible, using new methods and techniques, to win these citizens to our cause.

Those who believe that the movement's propagandists are less important now, since we now control the state, which in turn controls the various propaganda methods, show only that they understand nothing of the nature and necessities of modern propaganda. Occasionally one encounters a party member or even a political leader who thinks this way. They believe that propaganda is no longer really a task of the Party, rather of the state, since it controls the major means of propaganda such as the radio, the press, film, etc. They believe that instead of holding a meeting that reaches perhaps a thousand or ten thousand people, it would be better to broadcast the speech over the radio and reach a much larger audience, or they wonder if mass meetings are even necessary any longer, since the state has the ability to get its message to the people through special editions or articles in the press.

We must vigorously oppose such viewpoints. History has shown us, and our opponents, that using such methods would in the long run guarantee us the fate of our opponents. During

our struggle for power, our opponents controlled practically the entirety of the press and radio. Films attacked us as well. Our National Socialist movement had none of these media, only itself and the spoken word; it had to rely on its speakers. Despite that fact, in our fourteen year battle we defeated the enemy. That alone is sufficient proof that all those other methods are not enough. If we combine these means with National Socialist action and National Socialist spirit, we can make them into strong weapons for our worldview. But without a connection to the National Socialist fighting spirit, they will remain ineffective.

From this it is clear that the struggle for the German people and the propaganda for the National Socialist state can never be a task of the state, rather must ever be solely a matter for the Party. The movement has the people who are ready and willing to put the National Socialist thinking and will of the state into action. They will use the means of the state. The state cannot carry out the tasks of popular enlightenment and propaganda without the help of the fighters of the National Socialist Party. And if the methods were used too often they would lose their effectiveness; even worse, too frequent use would destroy the connection between government and people. The fate of the old parties and the old system demonstrates this. These parties believed that once they had a certain degree of power and a certain number of supporters, they could govern the people from government offices. This erroneous theory, which we knew well how to exploit, is the cause of their collapse. In our fourteen-year struggle for power, we went to the people, we sought to maintain a living connection with the people. The leadership of our party did not hold secret conferences and deliberations, rather everyone from the Führer to the last minor official always strove to stand in the middle of the people, for only in that way could they learn the people's problems, needs and wishes. Today the National Socialist movement controls the state. No party member with any office at all in the Party can neglect to maintain and strengthen this living contact with the people. Were a political leader even in the smallest village to believe that he could neglect this contact since his party possessed the state, he would quickly find himself and his politics isolated from the people and himself rejected.

Along the same lines, some think that mass meetings are no longer necessary, or even worse, that meetings in general are no longer effective, since the people no longer want them. Dr. Goebbels rejected this idea energetically, saying that wherever the population displayed such a dislike of meetings, the fault was not with the people, rather with those who were not able to hold meetings that the public liked. Some of our opponents laughed when the NSDAP first began holding mass meetings. They believed that since the people refused to attend their old-fashioned and calcified meetings, they would also stay away from the our movement's meetings, which corresponded to the wishes of the people. Those gentlemen aren't laughing any longer. We could one day suffer the same fate if we make the same mistake and believe that meetings are no longer necessary or effective. Whenever such a threat surfaces, we must work to see that meetings are conducted effectively and that the people come because they are interested in our meetings. If we prepare our meetings with the same fanatic effort, with the same passion, and the same intensity as during the struggle for power, we won't have to complain about poor attendance or even opposition. But if a local group leader believes he can force people to attend a meeting by a meeting by putting an ad in the local newspaper or by distributing a leaflet threatening that those who do not attend will be seen as traitors or will show that they are uninterested in the Party or the new state, who indeed attempts in any way to fill his meeting hall by force, he should not be surprised when he finds uninterested people or even empty seats on the night of the meeting. Such behavior can only be explained as the result of great intellectual weakness. We have always been proud to be a movement of the people. Today too we must mobilize the people so that they come to our meetings with enthusiasm and interest in hearing what we have to say; we cannot compel the people who showed on 19. August 1934 how powerfully they supported us to attend our meetings. He

who tries to fill his meetings by threats, even if he succeeds, does not advance our idea, rather damages it, for the attendees will conclude that the National Socialist movement is no longer able to attract people to it without the use of force.

It is self-evident that careful preparations must be made for meetings and that the speaker must do his best. No speaker, particularly in the thousands of small meetings that occur every day, may assume that it is not as important as it once was to prepare his speeches carefully. It is impermissible to speak for an hour or an hour and a half in a cold and empty way. During the struggle for power we fought for the soul of every single citizen and gave our full energies to winning supporters for our movement. Today we must fight to strengthen the teachings of our worldview in the souls of the people, to persuade them and make true National Socialists of them.

The core of the Reichspropagandaleiter's message to those at the special meeting was that speakers "have to look the people in the eyes." We may not think that the struggle is over since we now possess power, and that our meetings now should have a "higher intellectual level." We must resolutely reject the claim of those who want us to believe that it is no longer "polite" so speak with the same forceful and clear language of the struggle for power. We must always remember that we succeeded because we spoke in a way that the people understood. In the bible of National Socialism, the Führer's *Mein Kampf,* he ironically describes a bourgeois meeting. A certain part of the intellectual class found pleasure in the "well organized and profound knowledge" of the speaker. The overwhelming majority of the German people, and the workers in particular, however, rejected this lukewarm hash. May our meetings never become a kind of "fine arts" gathering. Speakers must avoid being offensive, but they must also avoid weakness. The speaker must speak in a way that the people understand. They must sense that he feels the worries and problems of the people, and that his work serves to the good of the people.

If today the same fighting spirit that supported our fourteen year struggle for power fills our meetings, if we conduct our labors in this same spirit, if we never give up on a deep and living relationship to the people, the success of our labors is assured. The same force that once filled our meetings-and only our meetings-will flow in our meetings today as well.

The same spirit necessary for our meetings is required for all other areas of our work for the movement. The key commandment is never to depart from the line that we followed in our fourteen-year struggle for power. In all that we do we must remain what we were when we joined the ranks of the activists of the movement. We must never believe that, just because the means and power of the state are on our side, we may slack off, or conduct our struggle differently than in the way that led us to that power.

Reichspropagandaleiter Dr. Goebbels gave a vivid illustration of how to act. There have been cases in which a newspaper editor believed he had to editorialize against National Socialism or against some measure of the new government. The local group leader or the responsible party office responded by sending the editor to a concentration camp, or by threatening to do so. If the offense is not overly serious, if there really is no great need to punish it, if it is a case of minor importance in some provincial paper, or even if it is in a city paper, we should approach it as we did during the struggle for power. During those days tens of thousands of red and black [Catholic] pigs spewed their poison against us. We could not ask the state to deal with them. That was probably good, for we were then unable to present these black and red pigs to the public for what they really were. They would have appeared to the public as "martyrs of conscience" or "martyrs to their profession." In those days we called the people to mass meetings and proved to them the slanderous nature of the accusations. We must do the same today. If a newspaper forgets its duty and wants to return the methods of the past, we should oppose it forcefully with every means at our disposal. We must show the people in a mass meeting who it is who still attempts to interfere with the building of the new

Germany. We can be sure that in such a case we act not only in the interests of the movement, but also in the interests of every decent citizen. Those who we oppose in such a manner will most certainly lose interest in any similar experiments in the future. But we will also have given the people proof that National Socialism does not need to depend on state power or require it to carry out its work. Such action will also contribute to winning over that small part of our people that still is not with us. We do not wish to win this small group to our world view by force or pressure. Rather, where ever and whenever it is possible, and without force or pressure, we want to use the means of education and public pressure on the foes of renewal. If we work in this way, the splendid old fighting spirit that was with us at the very beginning, and which led us onward to our present success, will live on in us and our movement. That will be the best guarantee that the movement will continue to move forward in every way.

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10 Commandments for Propagandists: How Not to Do It

by Richard Blasius

The source: Richard Blasius, "10 Gebote für den Propagandisten: Wie es nicht sein soll," *Unser Wille und Weg,* 5(1935), pp. 29-30.

1.

Never make decisions on your own! It is always easier to wait for orders from superiors. One saves thereby a lot of time that one can use for other useful purposes, since one has a political office only so that one can walk around in a uniform. Besides, one can escape from all responsibility by saying that he is only following orders, since he is after all only a subordinate. If one wants to give the appearance of working independently, one needs only complain behind the back of one's superior that he does not allow his subordinates any freedom of action.

2.

In view of the short life of posters, tack tham up rather than paste them. After all, they take a lot of work from the artist, and deserve only a brief life. And what wind and rain leave, you can certainly leave as well. The flapping scraps of paper provide variety in the wasteland of walls and fences.

3.

Since 30 January 1933, you need view your position only as a retirement post, since educational work is no longer necessary. If someone nonetheless demands it of you, they are doing it only to annoy you.

4.

Never make the least attempt to make yourself smarter than you already are, or at least than you believe yourself to be, through party education. Commandment 3 makes the uselessness of such training clear.

5.

If you really must preach, don't follow your own advice! No one has the right to expect that you will do what you tell others to do. Always make in clear in your work that your motto is "Do as I say, not what I do."

View the political organization as a collection of all the various former organisations and behave accordingly! If you are adept at the old organizational rhetoric, you will be the right man for your new office.

6.

[Curiously enough, there is no 6th Commandment]

7.

If during your educational activity you come across those rightly beloved citizens who view each penny taken from their abudance as a great sacrifice to moan and groan about, respond calmly and say that you would rather not bother about the matter yourself, but have to make the best of a bad situation because of your office. Your job is not to confront those who complain and criticize with factual arguments. You could easily make yourself unpopular if you do.

8.

Have some drinks at any meeting you call! Bacchus is the god of eloquence, as long as the content is not important.

9.

Use any opportunikty to complain in public about the workload you carry for the party. That is most helpful, particularly when you speak of eight hour meetings. Advertising is your business, after all.

10.

Never make appropriate adjustments to general regulations to make them fit your local conditions. Rather, respond to them all in this way: That will not work here. Work rationally and save time!

Political Propaganda

by Schulze-Wechsungen

The source: "Politische Propaganda," *Unser Wille und Weg,* 4(1934), pp. 323-332.

No one today will doubt that political propaganda has been of major significance in the past decades. Waves of propaganda hit Germany, leaving a world in confusion. We had nothing similar with which to defend ourselves. Our leaders realized too late the power and effects of this modern weapon, a weapon without limits, that thunders more loudly than cannon fire, that is more destructive than a gas attack.

This weapon forced the World War on us, it forged the alliance against Germany, it brought ever new armies to the front against us, it gave them confidence, it used every method-because every method was at their disposal. Success proved them right,

Only their military leadership found things impossible. For their propaganda general staff, everything was possible.

Propaganda is the most modern of weapons. We have suffered under it, we have learned from it. Having learned from experience its necessity, we now use it.

We had to destroy our airplanes, tanks, guns and the like, but not the weapon of propaganda. How could we not have used it, who is foolish enough to underestimate its power? We owe our rise to it and will have to depend on it even more in the future. It is a powerful tool in molding the nature and the thinking of the new, the modern man.

Alexander von Humboldt wrote that one must organize a lasting moral force, which is nothing other than a firm, systematic, coherent attempt to raise the morale of the nation, to control it.

"To raise the morale of the nation...," that is both our task and our goal. We have no desire to apply our idea outside this framework, apart from conviction, only as a means. The National Socialist worlview is unique; its full development presumes Germans in Germany. It will win friends, even some abroad, since it fits reality. But its deepest power is rooted in German nature.

Our enemy in the World War won the leaders and soldiers it needed through propaganda. The men who make National Socialist propaganda have another goal: to win the German people!

We may be proud that the first big step has been taken, but it is only the beginning. What we have done points the way to what must still be done; it is both an obligation and a promise. The ferment of decomposition is in the past. A new page in German history has been turned, a new age has dawned. Future generations of historians and critics will write books about our era.

Past German politics and war propaganda were based on sentimentality and "moral" feelings, untroubled by any understanding of the psyche of the masses. Politics depends on proper preparation, it depends on intuitive propaganda. The direction in which propaganda takes the feelings depends on the goals of the political leadership, on its understanding of psychology. One must understand human perception and psychology.

Modern psychology (the word, by the way, comes from the days of Melancthon), supported by psychiatry and neurology, attempts to discover the laws of psychological processes through systematic experimentation and statistical analysis (e.g., logical thinking). These modern methods have led to valuable conclusions, but they are not sufficient by themselves. There are imponderables in the psyche of individuals as well as of the masses that can scarcely be explained. Neither psychological experiments or statistical techniques can

produce laws that the propagandist can apply with mathematical certainty. This is not to say that certain psychological discoveries should be ignored or rejected.

Few people are able to bring heart and mind into full agreement. Propaganda often has particular importance in that it speaks to the emotions rather than to pure understanding. The individual as well as the masses are subject to "attitudes"; their emotions determine their condition.The politician may not coldly ignore these emotions; he must recognize and understand them if he is to choose the proper of propaganda to reach his goals.

Although modern psychology has not found any absolute principles for propagandists, and is unlikely to to do so, the total ignorance of psychology on the part of former German statesmen had catastrophic consequences, as we know from experience. Professor C. Daenell has this to say with respect to our psychological relationship to South America during the war: "We were very bad psychologists." Professor Adolf Rapp complains: "We were inexperienced and inept when it came to dealing with other nations. We did not understand their way of thinking, even though we praised ourselves for our ability to accept others. We failed at practical human relations."

Propaganda strives for long term effects; only occasionally does it need to aim for momentary successes. Truly effective propaganda must achieve a continuing understanding of the masses. It must use effective suggestion, which I define as an idea transformed into reality through the subconscious.

Naturally the propagandist must understand not only the means that are at his disposal, but also the characteristics of "his" masses, however they are expressed, of whatever type they may be. The enemy may command better resources, and will certainly take pleasure and satisfaction in any mistake. He will exploit any failure.

"The German people and its former ruling classes have learned nothing from the most terrible experience that any nation has ever had," says the German-American F. Hansen. He goes on: "The official German position on any propaganda that was directed to the Anglo-Saxon world was: 'We do not want to excite them.'" Professor Schönemann quite properly adds: "The German government held to the same almost unbelievable attitude with respect to questions of atrocities and war guilt! Here too was a politics of missed opportunities."

The essential task of propaganda is to use psychological skill to create a favorable atmosphere. As Schopenhauer says: "When the heart resists, the mind will not accept."

The fundamental attitude of all successful propaganda is optimistic. He who allows pessimism in his own cause can expect nothing but uncertainty and resistance. But optimism means, in all circumstances, confidence!

A good politician can accomplish little, if he faces a pessimistic populace which doubts his good will and even the practicality of his plans. On the other hand, it is clear that even the best propaganda cannot conceal constant political failures. Propaganda is only meaningful and believable when it can show positive results.

Such then are the tasks of propaganda: it is the proclaimer of an idea, it undermines the positions of the enemy with all the means and forces at its disposal. It stands in the middle of life, in the middle of events, and draws the necessary consequences. Whether the means of propaganda are proper or whether it serves the facts or ideas is entirely irrelevant. The reality that propaganda faces is so confused and the conditions it faces so unnatural, the new idea which propaganda carries so much better, that it would be inexcusable weakness if propaganda did not use every at its disposal to bring down as rapidly as possible the rotten system it faces.

Propaganda is evolutionary, the organization revolutionary. The word of propaganda becomes the deed of the organization, and the deed of the organization improves an intolerable condition.The task of propaganda is to explain to the people new ways and ideas, to interest the masses in events and to win their cooperation,

Politics and propaganda cannot conflict with each other, nor can they run parallel to each other, rather they are inextricably bound to each other. Without politics there is no propaganda and without propaganda there is no politics. Good politics always needs good propaganda. Both have the same goal, the same direction, and the same thing is true of them as is true of an individual: "One moves in life in the direction one looks."

No philosophy that doubts its abilities can guide a government to success. Propaganda, however, can persuade the people of the abilities of their government, and to their advantage.

Propaganda and passion belong together. Great passion is as rare as great genius.The greater the passion, the more effective the propaganda.

Germans recognized late the nature and role of propaganda, and later still its necessity. A new day is before us. We must find economic and cultural paths to build a people domestically and to build a nation facing the world. Propaganda prepares the way, it awakens the masses.

People say that politics draws the national balance. Should not that also be a task of propaganda?

In the past, the National Socialist movement was accused by many, particularly from certain circles of the intelligentsia that stood apart from the people and politics, from bringing politics to the people. With the slogan "politics is a dirty business," these know-it-alls retreated to their quiet cells. They did not realize that by letting politics drift, or drift as it was driven, they were giving their own fate over to forces that would one day draw conclusions from this lack of interest.

Politics and sentimentality do not agree very well. The task of politics, as Bismarck said, is to "make the proper preparations for what other people will do. This capacity of foresight is rare. It requires a man of broad experience and human understanding, and I become uncomfortable when I think of the extent to which this capacity has been lost by our leading circles."

Most groups of our people displayed an unbelievable ignorance of foreign affairs. Theoretical crankiness and hyper-patriotism were the characteristics of the German middle class. This type was also found among working class leaders as well as university professors, who had lost all understanding of politics.

Bismarck's fears became hard reality. We had no politically aware masses, no politically aware leaders. Did we have great statesmen-statesmen of mature thought who left something behind? What happened after the "granite block"-if I may permit myself an erratic phrase? A few decades later, the internationalism of unthinking politicians led to pan-European phrases and then to people-destroying bolshevistic ideas.

Propaganda is not a science; the variety of its methods makes impossible any straitjacket of scholarly training. There are no firm recipes for it, but neither may one trifle with it.

Aesthetes and know-it-alls may make elegant propaganda for their small circle. They can develop a fresh method every day, always looking for something new, but they will never make effective political mass propaganda in this way. The opposite! The professional propagandists of the movement should beware of those deadly enemies!

The goal of propaganda is this: to persuade the masses. It ignores everything that wants to make an "interestingly varied" propaganda, anything that wants to change the fundamental principles and content that propaganda wants to convey. Propaganda methods can, indeed must, vary, but propaganda must be carried out in a unified and disciplined way. Only that brings success, only that leads to the goal.

For both politics and propaganda, the slogan is true: limitation is the mark of the master, or as Kant put it, "Every reality develops through limitation." Since the reality for which we strive is called "Germany," we restrict our desires to it.

The aim, the general line, is known. We are on the attack, on the march. There is no turning back, no wavering. The propagandists must think subjectively. Absolutely subjectively, one-sidedly! He has under all circumstances to avoid the notorious and dangerous German objectivism! He need not weigh right and wrong, he does not need to worry if there might be some slight truth on the enemy's side. Propaganda is concerned only with its goal, with its justice, its truth. All else is half truth. The more consistently, the more uniformly propaganda is applied, the greater will be its success-and the sooner success will come.

Many a one laughed at the propaganda of the NSDAP in the past from a position of superiority. It is true that we had only one thing to say, and we yelled and screamed and propagandized it again and again with a stubbornness that drove the "wise" to desperation. We proclaimed it with such simplicity that they thought it absurd and almost childish. They did not understand that repetition is the precursor to success and simplicity is the key to the emotional and mental world of the masses. The masses are mostly extraordinarily forgetful, and their understanding less than that of the learned. Propaganda had to be made not to please the learned, rather to reach the masses. We wanted to appeal to the intuitive world of the great masses, not the understanding of the intellectuals. The significance of events and facts must be presented over and over again, until after a long time indeed the masses recognize the necessity of a fundamental change, until they demand it. Scientists, on the other hand, are persuaded by scientific proofs.

The time has come for the scientist too to see as the final, highest and most decisive factor not science, rather the interests of his people, the interest of the whole. That must become the highest goal of all his labors.

The NSDAP, to give only one vivid example, recognized Marxism as a powerful enemy of the people. The doctrine of Marxist socialism failed from the moment it achieved political power. Although its misuse (*Ausbeutung*)-avoiding Marx's unnecessary foreign term exploitation- of the masses led to ever greater misery for the individual, the masses nonetheless with blind short-sightedness believed in the world-conquering power of Marxist teaching. Our task as propagandists was not to debate materialistic revolution or philosophy, or the teachings of Marxism, rather we had to make the masses aware of the facts, of the essential, critical events and consequences. We did it over and over again, until the ice broke, until at least a part of the masses began to listen and understand.

The enemy was Marxism. Our goal was its annihilation. Our propaganda had to shake the foundations of the core of the Marxist idea in the minds and hearts of the masses, the theory of class struggle. Then we had to replace it with a new theory, which later the organization or positive power would use to win these same masses to a free state without a theory of class struggle.

Alongside the propaganda struggle against Marxism, we also fought against the war guilt lie and the Treaty of Versailles.

If one reconstructs today the phrases of this propaganda, if one lets the kaleidoscope of images roll by once more, one can still sense the problemss, the hatred of the enemy, our rejection by public opinion-it was like an impregnable wall around us.

To be sure, we made breaches in the wall. We broke out of anonymity, out of the depths of contempt and calumny, to the depth and freedom of the people. In the end the masses heard us. The movement and its propaganda had enormous success. But what was the goal?

The winning of the masses was a victory, but only a prerequisite to our goal. Propaganda now has its second, and perhaps even harder task: to maintain what we have achieved, and second to deepen what we have and to reach toward the goal.

An effective government has to be sure that public opinion, and in particular political opinion, supports its policies and actions. Public opinion "depends to a large degree on a

sometimes unbelievably tough and thorough belaboring of mind and feelings, and only to a small degree on personal experience or knowledge." Public opinion can be organized, or must be made capable of organization by propaganda, for the foundation on which opinion rests is of great significance for the fate of the community. Popular feelings with all its heights and depths cannot be separated from the concept of public opinion in a normal state. An eternal conflict or contradiction between popular feelings and public opinion is possible only in parliamentary states, and only in them, as Ferdinand Tönnies says, can one speak of types of public opinion.

Tönnies distinguishes between public opinion as a conglomerate of various and contradictory views, wishes and intentions and public opinion as a unified force, as an expression of common will. "Public opinion is essentially the common or shared opinion of a certain group, the firm judgment of a whole." Public opinion is the common view of an educated, in particular the politically aware public, or in other words "the desire of the intellectually most active, financially strongest, literarily most influential part of a nation, which is able to overshadow the other thinking parts of the population."

In Germany, we have seen enough of the attempt by these above-mentioned potentates, the intellectually active, the financially strongest, etc., to fabricate public opinion. We must observe that it was more or less a public, but not a real opinion-unless one wants to define egotism as opinion.

The true leader comes from the people, and represents the people. He forges the opinions of the broad masses.That is his reality, that is the source of his power: He is the personification of public opinion. I can not agree with a continuation of the discussion about the concept by social philosophers, and consider discussions about the necessity of such debates useless, in fact superfluous. For those who will lead public opinion today and tomorrow, the question has been answered. The direction is determined by necessity, and the people are the final goal. Public opinion consequently may never be confused with the more or less noisy views of a class of a clique which are of no interest to the public-the people!

By public opinion I mean those opinions that contribute to nation-building and maintenance in which the majority of the people have a direct interest or can be persuaded to take an interest in.

There cannot therefore be an uncertain public opinion, for it has to hold an entirely clear line on material matters and ideas. When that is not the case, for example during liberal periods, the resulting confusion of sectarian views of the various classes and groups leads to the abyss from which we rescued the German people by presenting them with a revolutionary idea that by the help of propaganda became their public opinion.

It is time to distinguish the often misunderstood words propaganda and advertising, which are sometimes intentionally confused.

Advertising experts, historians, scientists, experts and laymen alike have attempted to distinguish the words propagandist and advertising agent by a variety of longer or shorter definitions. No one has really succeeded. Perhaps that is because no one from the propaganda side has gotten involved in the discussion, since during the last fourteen years professional propagandists in Germany have hardly had time for theoretical discussions, and before that one could hardly speak of propaganda activity in Germany.

Now that the National Socialist worldview has taken power and there is a Ministry of Propaganda, such theoretical questions can be neither ignored nor left unclear.

The National Socialist movement over the years has trained a certain group of people to be propagandists. One cannot any longer conceive of the organization without them. Both are factors in the state that form a political unit with the same goal as ever: All for Germany.

They serve no interest group. Rather they are there to express the will of the people and its worldview, a worldview that has proven itself to the people as true and good. They are there to spread it to the masses for the good of the people.

Propagandists help to form and carry out governmental politics, and share the responsibility for it.

Politics is not a necessary evil, nor is it one of many factors necessary to the existence of a people. It is the essential factor for the people. Sound politics spreads strength and progress to all other branches of society and the sciences. The best economic policy will be fail under bad politics.

Politics is the primary factor.

A successful, far-seeing politics requires a powerful idea. All successful ideas are bound to the laws of existence, but their uniqueness depends upon the fact that they apply to "everyone," not to "some."

Worldviews descend to the depths of humanity. Their impact is above all spiritual, inward.

We do not need to argue here that every political idea has the characteristics of a worldview.

We have established our worldview after a long struggle. Each must now reckon with us, whether he likes it or not. The idea has become reality, and this reality can not be disputed or ignored.

The proclaimer of this worldview is the politician.

The worldview, this politics, applies to everything. Therefore its propaganda is the political line, political education, political advertising and also political pressure for everyone for the good of the people.

The propagandist is therefore the authorized representative of a political worldview or of a spiritual-religious idea.

Advertising is promotion for something physical, indeed for something specific.

Advertising serves the economy, or particular areas, purposes and tasks.

Advertising praises goods.

Propaganda spreads an idea.

Propaganda serves only politics.

The two have in common an organized set of methods-often different ones-which "result in the acceptance or fulfillment of the needs they present." Both use agitators, though in recent years the term has come to have a thoroughly political meaning.

It would be erroneous to attempt to draw a value judgment from the difference outlined here.

Some propagandists have been or could be good advertising agents, though we have rarely seen it work the other way. But that is not my point! The advertising agent is familiar, and has a long tradition. The propagandist should also become as familiar a concept. He must create something necessary: a tradition!

Just as any other German, he is a worker in construction, a becomer and a knower. But he has even greater responsibility to do more, to create more fanatically, for he is a political soldier. Therefore:

On with propaganda!

The Nature of Contemporary Propaganda

by Alfred Dietz

The Source: "Das Wesen der heutigen Propaganda,"*Unser Wille und Weg,* 4 (1934), pp. 299-301.

The struggle of our movement entered a new phase with the seizure of power **[in 1933]**. After years in the opposition, since the already historic date of 30 January 1933 the entire responsibility for the nation rests on the shoulders of the men who created the movement, and who pressed courageously onward in good as well as bad days. This fundamental transformation of every area of life requires changes in methods within the party and its subsidiaries.

Naturally propaganda, from the beginning the decisive factor in our movement, is not immune. It was and will remain a tool of our movement. Not everyone seems to have understood the instrumental character of propaganda. More than ever before, the idea and worldview of our Führer are at the center of our struggle. Propaganda's only goal is to serve them, to support them in word and picture along the entire battlefront.

Its task is to free those who today still are rooted and anchored in the foreign ideas of liberalism and Marxism, to make them feel, think and act according to National Socialism, to bring them to the point where they judge and evaluate everything according to National Socialist principles.

The sole task of the propagandist today is to support the will and policy of the government and to help anchor its laws in the people. To do that, it is necessary to keep informed on current events.

Not what was, but what is, that must be the center of the propagandist's work. The rapid pace of events forbids that we stay mired in the past.

It is therefore necessary that local group leaders make every effort to appoint the best activists to the post of propagandist. They must always be in the position to adjust to conditions, to find new ideas and methods that will attract and inspire the people. Not just any party member is suited to be a propaganda leader just because he has been given the task. Only the best is good enough to be a propaganda leader.

We do not have the right to sit back and enjoy the glories of our power, rather we have the duty to secure and increase it. We make a grave error if we believe that we can use power to order the people to attend our mass meetings and meetings. He who behaves in such a way proves that he has learned nothing. How often did we see during the System period [1919-1933] that despite all the pressure and chicanery direct against us, it was we who emerged the stronger. He who uses force today proves only that he has not realized that brute force achieves the opposite of its goal. Propaganda has nothing to do with compulsion; methods that use compulsion have nothing to do with propaganda.

The task of propaganda is to communicate the nature and content of our will to the broad masses in the most simple and understandable way. "Propaganda acquaints the masses with particular facts, events, necessities, etc., whose significance thereby becomes clear to them." (Hitler: Mein Kampf)

National Socialism cannot be understood only from the rational point of view. The propaganda leader has the task of finding the proper emotional form to appeal to the inner nature of the various groups within the population. One must avoid getting lost in details. Propaganda must always avoid the mistake of becoming cramped. Rather, it must be "popular

and its intellectual level must be at a level so as to be understood even by the least intelligent of those to whom it is directed." (Hitler: Mein Kampf)

The referendum of 19 August shows that 10% of the German people still do not support us. We must do everything possible to win the greater part of them for the National Socialist state.

We must once again hit the streets and go door-to-door, we must speak to people individually, just as we did when we were in the opposition. We must do everything in our power to show the laggards the infallible rightness of our will. Free yourself of the sentiment entirely out of character for a National Socialist: "It isn't worth talking to him!"

Our propaganda carried the power and strength of the Führer's idea and worldview to the people. Now propaganda leaders must see to it that the idea is driven deeper and deeper into the German people.

The Central Party Propaganda Office of the NSDAP

The source: "Die Reichspropagandaleitung der NSDAP.," *Unser Wille und Weg,* 6 (1936), pp. 6-10.

The propaganda of the NSDAP, its subsidiaries and affiliated organizations is the responsibility of the Reichspropagandaleiter, given the authority as a Reichsleiter by the Führer for all propaganda. He is responsible for the entire public work of the movement, including its subsidiaries and affiliated organizations in the German Reich, including the carrying out of the Führer's will on the part of the party apparatus and its subsidiaries and affiliated organizations. He is also responsible for the whole German radio system's organizational, cultural and economic development, for the spreading of the National Socialist world view to the entire German people, and for explaining the accomplishments of the party and the state.

The press and film are at his disposal in securing these aims.

To ensure the systematic coordination of the entire propaganda apparatus, he is at the top of an organization that reaches down to the smallest local office, and is organized as follows:

Reichspropaganda-Leitung **= RPL**
Gaupropaganda-Leitung **= GPL**
Kreispropaganda-Leitung **= KPL**
Ortsgruppenpropaganda-Leitung **= OGPL**
Stützpunktpropaganda-Leitung **= StPL**

The seat of the *Reichspropagandaleitung* is in Munich.

The *Reichspropagandaleitung* is headed by *Reichspropagandaleiter* Minister Dr. Goebbels.

His closest assistant is the Assistant *Reichspropagandaleiter*, who is also chief of staff of the RPL and the personal aid of the *Reichspropagandaleiter*.

There are five divisions of the *Reichspropagandaleitung*:

1. Active Propaganda
2. Film
3. Radio
4. Culture
5. Coordination

Department of Active Propaganda

Active Propaganda has the task of carrying out propaganda actions at every level, from the mass events with their architectonic structure to the conduct of membership meetings at the local group or section level. This requires organizing the entire speaker system of the party, its subsidiaries and affiliated organizations. Along with handling the daily questions of politics, it provides the entire speaker system with information and sends all propagandists in the country the monthly *Unser Wille und Weg.* The speaker system also requires the

production and distribution of appropriate posters and leaflets, as well as the careful examination of meeting reports from the speakers and propaganda offices.

A comprehensive picture of propaganda results from the statistical summary of all reports from the counties and *Gaue.*

The Department of Active Propaganda has two main divisions:

1. The Speaker System,

2. Major Events with architectonic elements.

There are also departments for *Unser Wille und Weg,* publications, statistics and promotion and contemporary affairs.

Office for the Speaker System

The office for the speaker system includes the office for "Speaker Organization," which supervises all Reich, *Gau* and county speakers of the NSDAP, as well as all expert speakers of the subsidiaries and affiliated organizations. The office of "Speaker Information" provides speakers at every level with the only official speaker and information material of the party.

The assignment of Reich speakers, shock speakers of the RPL and applicants for the shock troop is handled by the office of "Speaker Assignments." The office of "Speaker Education" is responsible not only for the training of new political and expert speakers, but also for the steady improvement in the knowledge of all active speakers. A special "National Speaker School" serves this goal.

Office for Major Events

The Office for Major Events has two main areas of responsibility. The first is includes all preparations for mass meetings, the second architectonic preparations. That includes all departments necessary for the conduct of a major event, including traffic, housing, transportation, sanitary facilities, sanitary supervision, food, etc, which are under the supervision of a single authority. That means that this office must stay in contact with all other relevant branches of the movement.

Office for Architectonic Matters

The Architectonic Office arranges the location for mass meetings and the specific requirements of the event.

Department for Film

The task of the Main Office for Film is the regular organization of film shows suitable for popular enlightenment and education, and which contribute to deepening the National Socialist world view. The Slide Show Office is subordinate to the Film Department,

The Department of Film includes the following offices;

Organization
Bookkeeping
Production and Equipment
Dramaturgy
Cultural Films
Press Office
Slides

Department of Radio

The Radio Office of the NSDAP is responsible for the supervision of the entire German radio system, with the goal of making the radio consistent with National Socialist principles in its organizational, cultural, technical and economic development. Only in this way will it be possible to make National Socialism in and through the radio into the practical life form of the German nation.

All technical means must be used by the radio warden organization to reach the entire nation with radio propaganda - whether through household, community or mass listening.

The Office of Radio has the following divisions:

Office for Cultural Radio and Radio Organization Office for Radio Technology
Office for Radio Propaganda

Office for Cultural Radio and Radio Organization

The broadcasting and reception system, culture work in the radio, education, scientific radio work, youth radio.

The organization of the radio system (Reich Radio Chamber, subchambers in the Reich Chamber of Culture, professional organizations), radio exhibitions.

Office for Radio Technology

Technical systems (loudspeaker system), technical training, shortwave and amateur radio, ultra shortwave system, technical production questions.

Office for Radio Propaganda

Propaganda actions on the radio, listener recruitment, press office, political broadcasts.

Department of Culture

The Department of Culture has the task of encouraging and supervising cultural work as an expression of the National Socialist world view in the propaganda of the party, its subsidiaries and affiliated organizations. Its offices are:

Office for "Architecture":

Provides guidelines and regulations for all architectural questions on monuments and such buildings as serve the public work of the National Socialist movement.

Office for Artistic Policy

Provides guidelines and regulations for all other artistic questions involving symbols, objects, etc. that are used in the public work of the National Socialist movement. Provides guidelines and regulations for the artistic aspects of mass meetings and the holding of National Socialist ceremonies that use cultural means.

The office also includes:

Office for Selection

The provision of musical and literary works that can be used in the mass meetings and ceremonies of the National Socialist movement.

Office for Programming

Provides sample programs for the ceremonies of the National Socialist movement and for the organization of National Socialist mass meetings in the tradition of those of the period of struggle for power.

The elimination of inappropriate methods that some attempt to apply in the movement.

The battle against *Kitsch,* the protection of National Socialist purity in ceremonies, the prevention of mystic and pseudo-religious perversion of the worldview through the work of cranks.

Commissions to appropriate artists according to the proper guidelines. Suitable persons are employed as members or assistants in special areas by the *Reichspropagandaleiter*.

The holding of practical courses for speaking choruses and the recruitment of suitable persons for the work in all groups of the movement. The Department of Culture publishes the monthly *Proposals for National Socialist Ceremonies,* which gives propaganda and cultural functionaries the material necessary for their work. It also includes guidelines consistent with our basic attitudes to prevent superficial conduct of discussion evenings, membership meetings, home evenings of the Hitler Youth, Comradeship evenings of the S.A. and SS, etc.

The unity of party and legally constituted professional organizations in the cultural sphere is guaranteed by relationships between the relevant offices. The *Reichspropagandaleiter* of the NSDAP is simultaneously president of the Reich Chamber of Culture.

The head of the Cultural Office of the RPL is simultaneously National Cultural Administrator in the Reich Chamber of Culture.

Department of Coordination

The Department of Coordination is responsible for contact with the ministries, offices and public bodies, etc. This ensures that the relevant governmental offices are informed of propaganda guidelines, and also that the Reichspropagandaleitung is informed of all tasks and guidelines that come from the Reich Propaganda Ministry. To guarantee the unified conduct of propaganda on the part of both the party and the state, the Coordination Department is responsible for ensuring that the directives of the *Reichspropagandaleitung* are brought to the attention of subordinate, affiliated and associated bodies.

Staff Office

The Staff Office has the following sections:

1. The "Reich Ring for National Socialist Propaganda and People's Enlightenment"
2. The "Reich Technical Team" with help from Bavaria
3. The Business Office of the RPL
4. The Department of Press Propaganda
5. The Office for Exhibitions and Trade Fairs

The Reich Ring for National Socialist Propaganda and People's Enlightenment has the task of ensuring the unified conduct of propaganda on the part of all subsidiaries and affiliated organizations of the party. The Reich Ring consists of a representative of the propaganda offices of all subsidiaries and organizations, assigned by the relevant leader, as well as other representatives of particular offices of the *Reichsleitung*, etc.

The Reich Technical Team has the task of provident the most modern technical means to all subsidiaries and affiliated organizations. The Reich Technical Team also assists such mass meetings that are not held by the party but are of national significance.

Business Office

The Business Office is responsible for the bookkeeping and administrative matters of the *Reichspropagandaleitung*, subordinate to a department head.

Office for Press Propaganda

The Office for Press Propaganda is responsible for publicizing the work of the various departments of the *Reichspropagandaleitung* to the proper offices of the National Socialist Press as well as to the rest of the press.

Office for Exhibitions and Trade Fairs

The Task of the Office for Exhibitions and Trade Fairs is to supervise all exhibitions in which the party participates from a propagandistic viewpoint.

Political Propaganda as a Moral Duty

by Dr. Josef Wells

The Source: "Politische Propaganda als sittliche Pflicht," *Unser Wille und Weg,* 6 (1936), pp. 238-241.

Many of us still must learn the nature and importance of political propaganda. Not infrequently one hears someone say that you should not and cannot stuff the people with propaganda all the time. The newspapers, after all, do not write only about politics in every edition. Leading experts refer to foreign newspapers, especially those in England. They may even mention the "Times." And the hearers are amazed, since in contrast to the German custom, its front page is devoted entirely to advertisements. Politics appears on the interior pages, interspersed with other stories. As surprising as this may be, it does not eliminate the need for a never-failing and never-weakening political propaganda in the National Socialist state.

We should begin by remembering this fact. Germany has the most universities, technical colleges, and mining, forestry and teacher academies in the entire world, even aside from the large number of middle and higher schools, and occupational, technical and popular schools. We are in fact the most schooled and best taught nation on earth. People in other countries know this. Those abroad know that to study at a German university requires extraordinary abilities and scientific performance.

But as well educated as we are, a very significant part of our population is still uncertain and awkward politically. One might think that as a nation of poets and philosophers, artists and inventors, we would also take the political lead among the nations that we undoubtedly hold culturally. That unfortunately has not been true up until now. Very many Germans even today lack reliable political instincts. Their political will and sense of direction is inadequate. We have to admit this, whether we like it or not. We cannot go into the reasons for this situation here, but can mention a few key points. Germany's earlier fragmentation into small states was a fatal blow to any unified political course, for German popular nationalism, and for all political training in the direction of a single goal, "Germany."

How could the German people be a "roche de bronce," a firm rock of political will and firmness, when the politics of the German states were disunited for a long time? Our unified fighting strength during the World War was often enough seriously hurt by battles between the various German states that we today find completely impossible to understand. We Germans lacked the necessary political determination in the last century, at home, in Europe and in the world. The average Englander is not nearly as well educated as the German, but he is more mature and sure of his opinions. He therefore does not need the same permanent political schooling as we do.

Today, the new German Reich has established the conditions necessary to eliminate those old mistakes and to establish that which all good Germans have longed for for generations: a unified political will of all Germans to build the strength of the Fatherland.

I said that the conditions have been established, politically, culturally and socially. That is to say everything is ready. We have no cause to be weary and rest on our laurels. That would only make us fat and lazy. Now we must build on the conditions to achieve splendid results. That will depend on each of us. We all have hard work to do. The political propagandists have the most to do. They have a long and difficult road before them before we near the goal that the English have reached long ago and maintain with great confidence.

Some citizens who gladly avoid political meetings and think them entirely superfluous, "since we are after all in power," prove that they do not understand even the ABC's of politics. They have views on, for example, German foreign policy, that are simply laughable. Some of the Führer's actions, which thanks to his political wisdom he takes with a view over decades or even centuries, they greet in silence or complete incomprehension. Were we to leave such doubters to themselves, they would be dreadfully unhappy, even collapse, because they are unable to recognize or experience successes. How often does one hear that this or that point of our program has not been fulfilled, or that it should perhaps even be dropped. This shows the lack of political instincts of some Germans. They lack not only a feeling for political unity, but also the strength necessary for political determination. They imagine they have both, but have neither. They must learn.

A cardinal error of German politics in the past, with a few shining exceptions, was disorder, uncertainty, wavering and confusion. It reached its epitome during the daily compromises of the postwar period. All Germany's political weaknesses came to the fore. Schiller once said: "Fight, German, to gain Rome's strength, Greek beauty. Both you can win. But never Gallic volatility [*gallische Sprung*]. He understood German political disharmony. Our soldiers should display Roman strength, our scientific and cultural achievements Greek beauty. We have achieved great things in both areas, unsurpassable things. The almost countless successes of German arms should have given us an entirely different political position than in fact we had. How often have other nations drawn political benefit from our military victories?

Gallic volatility does not suit us. The French phrase "Toujours en vedette" does not mean volatility itself, rather the willingness to change. The German is too easily satisfied with what he has achieved, he is too quickly politically "saturated," to use Bismarck's phrase. It actually applied only to that moment, but became a dogma. The German too quickly gives up when he does not immediately achieve his political goals, and is content with the situation. He has not learned to take the long view in politics, to wait and let time work for him. The German is to willing to accept second best in political matters.

It is understandable why the Führer's calm, persistent, confident ability to wait and let time work for him in a series of important domestic and foreign policy matters is so hard for most Germans to understand. Many would not be at all upset if Adolf Hitler played the big man by taking unconsidered, hurried, careless actions, perhaps even "a panther's leap to Agadir" or something like that. The Führer's careful approach and confidence, and his enormous political abilities in all areas, are something entirely foreign to most Germans, something entirely new. They must become accustomed to it.

The propagandist must therefore always be ready for action, not be hampered by the political uncertainty of the people. They have a double task. First, they must bring the public to the level of political maturity for future foreign policy actions. Foreign actions and decisions cannot be made today 's era of popular nationalism by a thin leadership layer or an intellectual elite, as they were in the past. Political propaganda is necessary to build the determination of the nation.

We have greater freedom of action in domestic policy. Here it is a matter of capturing each individual. The determination of the individual stands alongside the forged determination of the community. Here battles will be fought that require a new kind of statistic. If we want to support a foreign policy decision, the entire nation must be mobilized for a powerful frontal attack. Domestic matters are not settled by mass meetings and mass marches alone. There "the troops must be divided into separate units." The battle will be won within the family, the workplace, the office. Such quiet, tough battles depend on the determination, independence and self-confidence of the individual fighter. Many details of our domestic policy are not yet legally settled, nor can everything be written into law. There is

much room for personal initiative. Each party member at least can act as a National Socialist. In such matters, each is his own political propagandist. There he can show if is is determined, persistent, self-confident, whether he can hold firm and keep going. Political propaganda in the form of political meetings must always stand alongside such individual fighters.

If we demand political activism of the whole community, we propagandists must ourselves be activists. Activism does not mean being a bigmouth or a rabble rouser, rather agreement between word and deed, between unity and determination of character. Political propaganda may not be confused with advertising. Advertising changes its target as needed. The Americans call it "ballyhoo." The word means making a lot of noise about something, whether it is worth it or not. The art of advertising works this way. Advertising agencies push one thing today, another tomorrow, each time making it sound as if nothing else in the world is worth mentioning. There is no thought of moral or national values. "Ballyhoo" is advertising at any price, with no moral content, no moral thought or responsibility. The Americans made "ballyhoo" against Germany during the World War until the American public finally believed that the Germans were cannibals whose elimination would be a godly deed. "Ballyhoo" is unlimited, arbitrary exaggeration. In a political sense, it is incitement, distortion, and it is all immoral.

When we talk about the necessity of political propaganda, we seek powerful moral goals. We want to make our people a united nation that confidently and clearly understands National Socialism's policies, quickly and correctly. We cannot change our political principles as we would a consumer good, becoming random, irresponsible and immoral. We do not want to distort, confuse or incite, rather clarify, unify, and tell the truth. Political propaganda is the highest responsibility, it is a moral duty, a national duty. We may never think there is too much of it, or that it is superfluous.

A Word on the Reich Speaker School

by Hans Rieß

The source: **Hans Rieß, "Ein Wort zur Reichsrednerschule,"** ***Unser Wille und Weg,*** **October 1936, pp. 17-20.**

In the course of the last year as part of the reorganization of the party's speaker staff, the *Reichspropagandaleitung* has established a Reich Speaker School to train the most suitable and capable speakers. The Reich Speaker School is a so-called traveling school, since it does not have a fixed geographic location, rather wanders from *Gau* to *Gau.* This has the advantage of freeing participants from the usual necessity of traveling to and from the school, saving them much time, not to mention money. The establishment of the Reich Speaker School has been warmly welcomed by speakers and propagandists. Interest in the new establishment was so strong from the beginning that a large number of applicants had to be turned down by the *Reichspropagandaleitung*. This alone proves how valuable the work of the Reich Speaker School is. Still, there were a few cases in which speakers thought participation in the Reich Speaker School was not important, since they had been active as party speakers for years and had addressed hundreds of meetings successfully, without ever having gone to a speaker school. It makes no sense to train old and experienced speakers like them.

Others see the need for a speaker school, but do not think that the *Reichspropagandaleitung* needs to establish one. There are *Gau* schools, educational establishments, etc., and they do not understand why speakers do not attend existing schools. Since these objections might surface again, or may have already surfaced, it may be appropriate do refute these prejudices, for that is what they are.

The *Kampfzeit* **[the Nazi term for the period between 1919 and 1933 when the party fought for power]** was undoubtedly the best school for National Socialist fighters, and National Socialist speakers in particular. All our familiar Reich, *Gau* and *Kreis* speakers came out of that hard school, and they are still the party's leading political speakers. However, here and there it must be admitted that there are political speakers who did well during the *Kampfzeit,* indeed who were often among the best speakers, yet today they do not do well because they have not moved with the times, because they keep playing the same old record from the *Kampfzeit* in their meetings. After the three years of positive National Socialist constructive work that is behind us, such rhetorical activity is at least negative, in no way up to the increased expectations for a political speaker today. It is no longer sufficient for a speaker to attack our opponents and expose the mistakes of the past. Rather, he has to perform positive political work. He must address the events and questions of today. He should present his audience with the National Socialist worldview, and should help form the new German person in the way we want him to be formed and educated according to our worldview. If a speaker is to do this creatively, he must understand the factors that influence the life of a people. He must be familiar with the history of his people. More than that, he must be familiar with the vital questions and things that influence the fate of our people at present and in the future. Comprehensive knowledge is the essential equipment of a speaker. Although it cannot be the task of the Reich Speaker School to provide the speaker with such theoretic knowledge, it can give him practical advice in using his knowledge. It will make the speaker aware of common mistakes and give him advice for writing his speeches, and for his practical activity.

The most important task of the Reich Speaker School, however, is to give the speaker new drive, to give new fuel to the fires of his enthusiasm. It should help to preserve the revolutionary force of the *Kampfzeit* and to maintain the strength that will enable him, just as

in the years of struggle, to inspire the hearts of his audience with enthusiasm, both today and in the future.

Given what has been said about the special tasks of the Reich Speaker School, having speakers participate only in regular training courses is not a happy solution. It cannot be beneficial to have the tried and tested speakers of the party participate in training courses with other course participants who have to start by learning the most basic elements of National Socialism. The National Socialist speaker, based on his years of rhetorical activity, already knows a great deal about political, economic, cultural and social matters, which can be used as a foundation by the Reich Speaker School. In the discussions that follow each talk between the speaker and the participants, false ideas and impressions can be discussed and set right. In these exchanges of ideas, all of life's questions can be considered from the standpoint of the National Socialist worldview, which contributes to the absolutely necessary building of a unified worldview on the part of the whole speaking staff. The speakers certainly should not become identical mechanical speaking machines, rather thinking men with their own ways of expression and organization.

On the question of expert speakers, it is advisable to bring in leading experts from around the Reich, not from the *Gau* in which the course is being held. The likely experts from within the *Gau* are likely to be known by the speakers. It is understandable that even if they are extraordinarily capable in their area, they will not be as interesting as experts from somewhere else in the Reich. Participants have regularly expressed the understandable desire to hear another expert on the subject, preferably a leading figure who deals with the matter on a daily basis.

It has also been valuable during Reich Speaker School courses to include visits to institutions, factories, etc., which provide the participants with practical impressions that are more valuable and enduring than any theoretical training.

The Reich Speaker School is also extraordinarily important for training the next generation of speakers. This is a problem that daily becomes more pressing, as the circle of experienced old speakers from the *Kampfzeit* diminishes, and it is of great importance to find suitable people to replace them.

In the past, those who might become new speakers studied National Socialist writings to train themselves. But a command of the material does not in itself make a National Socialist fighter. This gives the Reich Speaker School a major and important task, but a satisfying one. It must prepare the next generation of speakers through intensive preparation and education, training the political speakers of tomorrow. Its courses will present National Socialist thinking in vivid form to the young National Socialist fighter. Here he will learn the qualities and characteristics of the speaker of the *Kampfzeit,* and here he will find the strength that will enable him to fulfill his mission, to go out to the people as the bearer and proclaimer of a new age.

Heart or Reason? What We Don't Want from Our Speakers

by Hugo Ringler

The source: *Unser Wille und Weg,* 7 (1937), pp. 245-249.

An examination of meetings held today [1937] suggests that a not insignificant portion of them are lack a factor that was once the hallmark of the National-Socialist meeting. To be sure, times have changed: there are no discussions, no heckling, and above all no more opponents who accompany the speaker's presentations, troubling and forcing him all the more to give his best. There is, however, still something that in many meetings today seems faded, something which previously was considered a peculiarity of the Nazi meeting, something which is needed still today and in the future: *the inner experience and the testimony of an unshakable belief in the Idea*.

Indeed, it was just that which distinguished our meetings from those of all other parties. We approached the people during our period of struggle not in order to solve problems with our arguments, nor to explain them down to the very last and very smallest detail, rather we came before the German people and preached to them our *Idea*.

There stood the speaker before his listeners: inspired and filled to the very core with the marvelous ideals [*Ideengut*] and thoughts of the National-Socialist world view. And he strove to transfer this inspiration, this devotion, this faith which he carried within himself, to transfer that to his listeners and make them loyal National-Socialists. A thousand ways it was proved true that often it was *not so much the contents of speech as it was the manner in which it was delivered* that influenced the listener and won him to us. Indeed, a speech could even be poor and yet create a success; in such cases the audience had to recognize and feel that there stood a man who lived utterly according to the ideals [*Gedankengut*] about which he spoke, a man who was totally and completely inspired by faith in what he said. Just as faith can move mountains, so can faith triumph over resistance and opposition.

In contrast to that, today, in a great number of meetings one can observe that speakers who strive quite earnestly yet fail to obtain the expected success. There are so many speakers who think that their listeners have to get every last fact clear, speakers who have the opinion that by verifying every word with indisputable and valid statistical material the people can be persuaded to accept what he says as correct and inevitable. *There are speakers who investigate and carve up their subject with almost scientific exactitude and utterly forget that they are supposed to be preaching a worldview.*

To be sure, today people want explanations from the speaker about some of the matters which bother them, and thus the speaker must go into specifics. However, in no case should he forget *the greater subject* out of which these details come - our world view. And he should not forget how to bring this world view nearer to the people. If during the period of struggle speakers tried to bring people to the NSDAP by mathematical materials or by statistical or scientific verification of every topic, then we would still be struggling to achieve power.

The speaker, and he was the strength of the National-Socialist Speaker's Corps, *spoke not to the understanding but to the heart*. He spoke out of his heart into the heart of his listener. And the better he understood how to execute this appeal to the heart, the more willingly he exploited it and the more receptive was the audience to his message. One could not at all at that time persuade the German people by rational argument; things worked out badly for parties that tried that approach. The people were won by the man who struck the chord that others had ignored - the feelings, the sentiment or, as one wants to call it, the heart.

Otherwise it would not have been possible to capture the entire people. Purely intellectual efforts, such as the majority of other parties used-and we have witnessed this-were again and again able to success only with a certain section, a certain stratum. The speaker at National Socialist meetings, however, had something for everyone. The manual laborer went to the meeting just as easily as the teacher; the merchant went just as easily as the public official. Had the National-Socialist speakers then also sought to appeal intellectually to the economic or material aspect of the people's thoughts, then we too would have been able only to satisfy a segment of the public. The intellectually superior or the intellectually motivated man would have then declared: "I know that already; indeed, I know more than that;" and just the reverse would have happened in the opposite case among those whose thoughts occur in simple forms; they would have said, "I don't understand that; that is too learned or too elevated," etc.

These experiences of past days are however still entirely valid. And moreover, National Socialist is still not and will never be something which presents itself intellectually; nor can it attract the people to it intellectually. Thousands of examples from life prove this. Where would, for example, the Winter Help Drive [*Winterhilfswerk*] have remained if we had tried to persuade the German people of its necessity by intellectual efforts? There we appealed simply and solely to the feelings and the heart of the German men. We said to them: "there stands a million men who have it bad, or at least essentially worse than you; you must consider it your duty to help these men." On similar or analogous lines lies the entire effort of the National-Socialist Public Welfare [*Volkswohlfahrt*]. If we go into a factory we will not able to convince a plant manager by intellectual or statistical means that erecting a swimming pool, or a finer recreation room and better working conditions, that those will achieve this or that mathematical result for him. And yet the swimming pools will be built; and these improved working conditions will be achieved. Why? Because one appeals to this man as a human. Because one says to him: "Even someone who works under your management as an employee stands as a colleague and has the right to perform his work under dignified conditions." And, for those who lose themselves off from such appeals, education programs on new ideas still have not accomplished much. for such programs yet speak to the understanding and not to the heart.

It has in response to a genuine demand which our world view placed upon those who felt called upon to preach it that past speakers devoted themselves; indeed only those speakers who genuinely and spiritually were attracted to the world view. And on the same basis it is to be understood why the movement attracted such an immense number of good speakers, although previously none of them had allowed himself even to dream about standing on a platform. We became speakers because we had become National-Socialists. These facts should not be forgotten or overlooked by those who today perhaps as novices stand before the German people and speak. If they genuinely realize the full significance of this, then their meetings will not appear, as so often the case is, more like *a lecture hall of a university* than a public meeting.

He who can not meet this demand shows thereby that he does not have the stuff in him to be a speaker. He may nevertheless feel himself called to it; he may possess ambition; but in such a case his manpower will serve the movement better in some other capacity.

The absence of certain pre-requisites is not made up for by attendance in a so-called speaker school. Because these schools serve, in so far as they are conducted by the NSDAP in the form of national and regional speaker schools, not the purpose of making speakers out of party members; rather they furnish the already oratorically talented members with adequate information that they can then make use of in their meetings.

An ingenious private industry has now come upon the idea of expanding its speaker schools (which up until now worked with people who in their careers had to possess a special

speaking skill) to include improving the speaking of party members for their activities as party speakers.

In the years since we came to power, certain institutes have sprung up like toadstools after a warm rain. In their press releases and other promotional means these institutes have puffed up the appropriateness of their teaching METHODS to the party member who wants to become a speaker. They neglect almost nothing. They stress that besides such and such number of party members of all callings they have also already taught thousands of political leaders to speak. With utter boldness a prospectus in which they praise themselves states this or that prominent position in the movement or the government required a man tested in speaking and that he had actually become a speaker through them. It was in such ads and publicity that attendance at one course was described as indispensable, and one can only be thankful that our speakers during the period of struggle were able to succeed with their part of the campaign in such imposing numbers, even though they had not this "indispensable" prerequisite at their disposal.

Make no mistake. It is utterly possible that some speaker(s) who participate for reasons of health in such speaker courses learn there one in spite of many loud speakers can preserve their vocal organs. We know too that, for example, stage speech is different from the way we speak in everyday life, and that it is possible for the trained speaker to achieve through correct speaking the same effect with inferior vocal production as the untrained. From this point of view, there is no objection to such vocal instruction.

On the other hand, however, one must object that the praise and the "development" are not limited to such simple matters. On the contrary, the prospectus claims that "effective" speaking is taught: that is that the students learn what stresses they should speak their sentences with and so on. This method, if applied to all of our speakers, would mean that the party would have at its disposal a great number of speakers who would be extra-ordinarily well developed rhetoricians whose performance of "effective speaking" - in all its heights and depths and other refinements - would shoot off like a fireworks of rocketing words and sentences. They would no longer come from their own experience or from the realm of the heart, rather they would be brought forth by a mechanical method for public display.

By "effective speech" of the sort we expect from National-Socialist speakers we do not mean the kind that sounds like a recording machine spewing its wisdom in a rather mechanically learned pitched; rather effective speaking for us is when the speaker suggests that his words do not come over his lips like the product of a formulated method; he creates his words out of his soul, and with the complete power of his faith and trust he brings understanding to his listeners. And for that there is no teachable rhetoric. To be sure, with a learned rhetoric a speaker can pull out all the stops of human emotional life; however nevermore will what he says come genuinely and truly from the heart; for now he must always be thinking of how the next word must be especially sounded.

We are convinced that the German people do not come to National-Socialist meetings in order to listen to talented orators.

Against [the author's skepticism of speech courses] the objection might be raised that here the end justifies the means; i.e. it might still be that a speaker who generally was absolutely ineffective in his speaking would improve by schooling in some technique. We cannot follow that. We take the position that speaking, as the Reichspropagandaleiter has already expressed it, is an art, and that anyone who is not gifted in this art can not be a speaker. To be sure, even the artist must learn and become accustomed to certain techniques. Always first, however, the natural gift must be present; it can then be built upon.

In a few weeks the party again launches its winter drive which indeed brings an abundance of work for the speaker. The National-Socialist speaker should enter into this work with the awareness that everything which was accomplished and achieved up to now has its

origin in the faith and loyalty with which the entire people stand behind the Führer. The speaker might also realize that the demand placed upon him in the coming work is to above all further strengthen his words with deep faith and deep loyalty, and until that occurs all other matters are secondary. He must let his soul speak and not try to influence his listeners with intellectual expositions nor cheap superficialities. We do not acknowledge the word "work" in our efforts as national-Socialist speakers; for we are not supposed to "work," rather we are willing. And after all that was indeed why we became speakers - the greatest and noblest recognition which the National-Socialism has given to us. We want this new faith and this new trust in Germany and its future carried within the people so that 68 million become alike in our souls.

Film as a Weapon

by Dr. Fritz Hippler

The source: "Der Film als Waffe," *Unser Wille und Weg,* 7 (1937), pp. 21-23.

If one compares the directness and intensity of the effect that the various means of propaganda have on the great masses, film is without question the most powerful. The written and spoken word depend entirely on the content or on the emotional appeal of the speaker, but film uses pictures, pictures that for almost a decade have been accompanied by sound. We know that the impact of a message is greater if it is less abstract, more visual. That makes it clear why film, with its series of continually moving images, must have particular persuasive force.

Some circles recognized this effectiveness early. It also makes it plain why film's relatively great costs "pay off": film stock, equipment, studios, the large technical and artistic staffs, etc., all cost a lot of money, but the result, the finished film, may bring in tens of thousands whose admission fees not only cover the costs, but result in a good profit.

Government offices and educated circles looked upon film's growth either with indifference or with distrust. Hardly anyone recognized the enormous possibilities. As a result, in the area of the weekly newsreel the German market was taken over by French films (beginning around 1909-1910). At the beginning of the World War, Germany was completely helpless in this area, while its enemies had a dangerous weapon in their smoothly functioning newsreel systems. Metzter, the great German film pioneer, published "The Film as a Means of Political Advertising" in 1916. He ended with the warning that it was time that "our responsible offices immediately begin thinking about how the masses can be reached with pictures." However, the World War was ending and world opinion about Germany was as the opinion makers wanted it to be.

This brief account is sufficient to show how important film is in influencing opinion abroad. Whether in a newsreel or a German feature film, it is the mirror in which the broad masses of the world sees Germany. It is also, like radio, the way that the poorer classes of the people can be presented with culture inexpensively. It is foolish and short-sighted for bourgeois aesthetes to shake their heads and say that film cannot be art, that it is a danger to the theater. The latter of these two contradictory opinions is refuted by the facts. The first is fundamentally false. It is entirely possible to make films that are great works of art. Doing so is a matter of costs and paybacks. A film of Stephan George's literary creations is indeed possible, but would surely lose money. The film must be directed to mass sensibilities. It of course has an educational responsibility, and may not avoid all standards in order to meet the public's tastes.

One may also note that ever since the Classical Era, there has been a certain relationship between theater, literature and the public, without damage to their cultural standards. Arnold Bennett once said that: "an artist who demands that the public submit absolutely and completely to his own demands is either a god or a complete and utter fool." The same is true of film, which is forced for these as well as economic reasons to appeal to the masses not only through its pictures, but also through its content.

German citizens have been increasingly drawn to film in recent years. We surpassed England, the previous European leader, in film theaters last year. There is no doubt that a systematic increase in the number of film theaters is not only economically important, it is also necessary to increase the impact of film. The prospects for growth are clear if we look to other nations. In 1934, 413 English per 1000 went to the movies each week, 343 per 1000 of

Americans, and 160 per 1000 French. In Germany, only 86 of 1000 went to the movies! Leaving aside the cultural and historic differences between Germany and these other nations, it is clear that increasing German film attendance is among the most important tasks of German film policy, and that doing so would increase the effectiveness of film in propaganda and popular enlightenment.

The Power of Speech

by A. E. Frauenfeld

The source: Gauleiter A. E. Frauenfeld, "Die Macht der Rede" *Unser Wille und Weg,* August 1937, pp. 16-21.

When coming generations look back on the period of struggle and development of the National Socialist movement, one of the most interesting and significant conclusions they will draw is that seldom in the history of the German people, indeed that of humanity itself, did the spoken word, that direct personal contact between the leader of a young and rising movement and the whole people, have such significance as in this significant period in the history of the German people.

It is very remarkable that although Adolf Hitler used the most modern achievements of science and technology for his struggle, he always viewed them only as instruments, never making compromises with technology that contradicted his knowledge. He was never tempted to devote himself to them, to become subordinate to them!

We must remind ourselves that the printing press released a flood of printed words, and that the spoken word seemed a relic of the Middle Ages over against the strength and force of technology that brought the printed word to the masses of the people. A dreadful collapse of the rhetorical art followed. National Socialism in no way rejected the possibilities which modern technology provided in the area of printing, but it also recognized the importance of the spoken word as messenger of a movement that came out of the feelings and experiences of the people. It used the spoken word in a way unparalleled in the past, and that will remain exemplary in the future.

To endure in the age of the printed word, the help of technology was needed. The loudspeaker, the radio, the motor vehicle and the airplane provided opportunities to reach a broader circle than ever before with the spoken word.

If we ask why Adolf Hitler put such great significance on the spoken word, we must conclude that the written word in no way equals the spoken word in intensity and impact.

But one does not rule out the other. They supplement rather than replace each other. The problem here is the same one that we encounter in the arts. Why do people go to the theater when there are movies, which are cheaper and less complicated, and which use the most modern technical methods? Why to people attend concerts when they could listen to the radio or turn on the record player in their homes, and hear the same thing? Why do people take on the challenges, the costs and the economic burdens of travel, when they can see splendid films with precise details about every part of the world?

All of these instances prove that even the most modern and perfect reproductions of music, words or pictures can never replace personal experience. The feeling we have when walking through the streets of a foreign city cannot be conveyed by the most perfect picture, the best travel description. A reproduction, however perfect, will never have the same effect as the actual work of art.

Personal experience is always primary, reproduction in whatever form is secondary. It is most effective when presented to a person who has directly experienced what is shown, who is then reminded of what he once experienced. Memory and imagination must be combined with secondary art forms in order to come close to communicating the primary experience of art!

He who hears an opera on the radio, but has never seen it on stage, will get only an imperfect impression, whereas he who has experienced the work will be reminded of the whole magic of the direct experience of the work of art.

He who reads a speech by the Führer but has never heard him speak will have a different and incomplete impression compared to him who has often heard the Führer. While he reads, his own imagination is active and he hears the words that he reads in his mental ear.

We see then that every indirect presentation is somehow incomplete if the memory of previous experience does not help our imaginations to unite our past experiences with the secondary form of reproduction.

The printed word is abstract. It is impersonal. It is not rooted in memory, but slides away. We connect the spoken word with thoughts of the person who spoke it, with his appearance, the sound of his voice, the persuasiveness and passion with which he spoke the words. And then there is the environment. Reading is usually done alone. Speaking is communal; many hundreds or thousands share the enthusiasm. All of this allows the spoken word to pass from the level of simple understanding to the depths of our feelings and drives!

Science records its knowledge in books. But confessions of faith have always favored the spoken or printed word. National Socialism proves this through the significance that the spoken word took in its struggle. From the beginning, it fought on the spiritual level and it spoke rather than wrote its words because it wanted to reach people's hearts, because it wanted to win!

We can distinguish four various forms of speaking:

1. The meeting
2. The mass meeting
3. The ceremony
4. The talk
5. The lecture

A meeting is a gathering of a number of people who have come together to be instructed by a speaker about a certain topic. It is usually not particularly formal. Meetings generally are held in rooms in restaurants, and drinks are served during the talk. This is the simplest form of bringing one person's thoughts and opinions to a larger audience.

A mass meeting is a step up from a meeting. It usually includes a larger number of listeners, music, flags, etc., which contribute to the atmosphere. Where possible, one will avoid tables in a mass meeting. Rather, one prefers halls that can be decorated to elevate the mood and, since there are only chairs, it is easier for the audience to concentrate on the speaker.

The highest level is in ceremonial gatherings. Here there is an artistically unified program with music, the entrance and exit of flags, and in the center of it all, a speech. The individual parts join to form a whole. This developed from the ceremonies that National Socialism created in its meetings during the struggle for power, and that have now been adopted in mass meetings and ceremonies.

During the years of struggle, there was great joy in battle and an enthusiasm that did not look to the surroundings, rather from overflowing hearts and sacrificial devotion created a devotion that made each meeting an experience, despite the modest surroundings and

primitive conditions. Now that we possess power, we need exterior decorations and finery to bring alive the feelings of those days once more.

The opposite of this form of rhetoric is the talk and the lecture. A mass meeting intends to be an experience, whereas the talk transmits knowledge, directing itself to the mind of the hearer. It wants to teach, to say something new, to educate. Its purposes are in the realm of the understanding.

The meeting is different in every regard. The attendee of a mass meeting would be disappointed by a scientific lecture, no matter how elevated and educational, because he came to the meeting with other expectations. Being taught goes against his wish to be motivated, to be swept along. We see here two kinds of speaking: the talk, which above all aims at the mind, and the meeting speech, which reaches the heart. In the talk what one says is primary, whereas in the speech it is above all a matter of how one says it. The audience of a meeting or mass meeting does not want to be taught (at least not in an obvious way), rather motivated. Our language proves it. We say that listeners were "captivated" by a speaker, that the speaker "held them in his spell," that his "gripping" speech had "suggestive" power.

A lecturer presents his hearers with things new to them, or illuminates them from new angles, whereas the speaker has the task of saying that which the audience feels, but is unable itself to say in clear and proper form. The words of a lecturer can be stolen, in a book, for example. A speaker cannot be plagiarized. His greatest triumph is when his thoughts and words are repeated by his hearers who have made his words their own, because they think that they are expressing their own thoughts in using the words of the speaker.

A lecturer stands behind his words, in the shadow of his thoughts, so to speak, but for the speaker the word is the means through which he expresses the power of his personality and gives it force. The speaker becomes for many listeners the incarenation of the idea that he represents. For many hearers, the thought of the idea is bound to the thought of him who presented the idea, who with the force of his personality overcame the internal resistance of his hearers.

All of this makes it clear that the outward aspects of a meeting, its surroundings, the way in which a speech is held, are not minor matters that one can do without, rather necessary preconditions if a meeting is to fulfill its purposes, if all the effort that went into it is not to be in vain.

Now and again one still encounters the completely wrong idea that since National Socialism has taken power, the meeting, the speech, no longer have the same significance as before, when we were fighting for power. He who as a result wants to reduce the number of meetings or take less care in holding, them proves that he has never understood the nature of the National Socialist movement. Just as a religion or a church can never stop preaching and explaining the faith in a thousand ways from the pulpit, no more can National Socialism surrender the direct and powerful effect of the speech, which ever and again strengthens the faith of the movement and provides new power for the never-ending struggle. Ever so many newspapers, magazines and books can at most only make this enormously important task easier!

Hitler Youth Speakers

by Erich Fehlberg

The source: "Redner der Hitler-Jugend," *Unser Wille und Weg,* 7 (1937), pp. 38-41.

The growth of the movement and its seizure of power on 1 January 1933 **[sic]**, when men of the NSDAP became the sovereign rulers of the state, are in large part thanks to its speakers.

Today it is just as necessary to maintain constant and close contact between the leadership of the party and state with the people, which is still done most effectively through the spoken word.

That makes it necessary to develop new speakers who will later be capable of speaking clearly and persuasively on questions of importance to the party and state. Just as future members of the press, radio and film are being trained in the HJ, so too the future speakers of the party are being trained in the Hitler Youth. This has taken concrete form during the past year. An office for the speaker system was established in the department of propaganda of the Reich Youth Office. It is responsible for organizing, assigning and training speakers. By agreement between the *Reichspropagandaleitung* and the Press and Propaganda Office of the Reich Youth Office, the Hitler Youth received official permission to establish its own speaking staff, which organizationally is part of the expert speaker system of the NSDAP.

The HJ speaker, the "expert" speaker, has understood National Socialism, and knows the thinking of the movement. He knows perfectly the positions of the HJ on cultural and political questions. He knows the importance of representing the Hitler Youth to the public. He receives, upon recommendation of the Reich Youth Office, a speaking license from the RPL that allows him to speak to the public as long as the meaning or the questions being handled fall under the purview of the HJ.

HJ speakers are divided into three groups, Reich, Regional or unit (*Bann*) speakers. Placement depends on a variety of factors which are laid out in detailed guidelines. Most important are ability and date of entrance to the party or the HJ. The resources of the RPL are at the disposal of the HJ for speaker education and training. The smallest unit of the speaker system is the speaker circle, which includes those speakers living in a political region. The speaker circle serve above all purposes of continuing political education, but also provides for getting to know other speakers and exchanging questions and experiences useful in speaking.

Beside training of HJ speakers in *Gau* speaker schools, the best and most capable HJ expert speakers attend the RPL's Reich Speaker School.

There are also occasional courses held by the Reich Youth Office or by its subordinate offices.

It is clear that the speaker circle and speaker school cannot have the major part in training good speakers, but they do provide encouragement and confirmation of the knowledge and ability of speakers. Only hard work, thorough knowledge, a broad understanding of National Socialist literature and constant reading of the daily press, magazines, and important and current books can complete the speaker's training.

The speaker information material that HJ speakers receive from the Reich Youth Office focus on the varied work of the HJ, while the Speaker Service of the Speaker's Office provides material for particular campaigns. For example, the best HJ speakers participated for the first time in this year's NSDAP Winter Campaign. A Speaker Service was published that was not critical for the construction or impact of the speech, but which nonetheless provided material that saved speakers considerable work in gathering material for their speeches. Similar material was published for the HJ meeting place campaign that began this year.

The various speaker material produced by the organizations of the party and the HJ give the HJ expert speakers help in becoming trained speakers. The degree to which they seek to master their tasks and the extend to which they understand them determines the quality of the speaker. In the final analysis, it depends on the young speakers themselves whether they reach a better than average level of ability, or whether they can be used in meetings and mass meetings only as secondary speakers. The best speakers of the HJ are already good enough to

join the corps of party speakers. Until now, only a few have been both expert HJ speakers and speakers of the NSDAP. After the 1936-1937 Winter Campaign, however, the best of the 100 expert speakers will join the ranks of party speakers. The best speakers of the National Socialist Youth Organization will emerge from one campaign after another, ensuring that the movement will be able to refresh itself with the best of the youth, those who demonstrate their skills as speakers of the people by maintaining contact between the party and the people, between the state and the people.

There are 550 Hitler Youth speakers today who are certified by the *Reichspropagandaleitung.* Many have stood behind the speaking platform and preached National Socialism even before 1 January 1933. These experienced HJ speakers are the foundation of the HJ speaking staff. The number of young speakers is constantly growing. The youth who do their first speaking to a group of their comrades or in a membership meeting will in the course of time learn to speak logically, giving their material persuasive impact.

Their service in the Hitler Youth, their organizing of membership and parents' meetings, will be the foundation of their later mastery of the spoken word. The HJ is establishing the foundation for reaching the people through the enthusiasm and conviction of the spoken word. The HJ will not only guard this inheritance from the movement, but will also develop it even further.

The Public Political Meeting - From the Speaker's Viewpoint

by Gau Speaker Max Cronauer

The source: Max Crooner, "Die öffentliche politische Versammlung - wie sie der Redner sieht," *Unser Wille und Weg,* 7 (1937), pp. 54-59.

Our Führer's greatest goal is to make the whole nation National Socialist. One of the most important and difficult duties of a local group leader **[of the Nazi Party]** is therefore to prepare the entire population of his area for this new kind of humanity.

The masses are in part still politically indifferent. The task is to saturate them with the depths of the National Socialist worldview, a task that is as difficult as it is decisive for our political future. A great people like the Germans will master its historical mission only if it is filled with fanatical faith and is convinced of the necessity to struggle for its eternal political existence. In our case: Our German people must accept the will of the party and state, and gradually become filled with the worldview of National Socialist thinking. An important tool in this process is the public political meeting. More than any other method, it is able to lead broad sections of the population to National Socialism and its faith, putting an end to the "unpolitical attitudes" of German citizens once and for all.

The political speaker is an important helper and comrade for the local group leader in reaching this goal. Close cooperation between these two will bring us significantly nearer to our great goal. The speakers sent by the *Gaue* and *Kreise* **[Nazi regional and county offices]** have great responsibility within the movement.

I will not speak here of the responsibilities of the speaker. Rather, based on my long years of experience as a *Gau* speaker who has seen many fine and well prepared meetings, but also unfortunately some that have failed. Unfortunately, some local groups do not think that the external arrangements for a meeting are important. It is certainly true that the persuasive speech of a good speaker can be effective even when the meeting does not have a particularly attractive setting, but the effect is the same as if one were to see a beautiful painting on the wall without a frame, or in a frame that was inappropriate and tasteless.

I have spoken at some meetings this year that were held in downright unattractive settings, examples of what may no longer be the case. This is particularly true in small towns and villages. Let me say openly that it seems that some local group leaders either do not understand the importance of such meetings, or at least are not in the position to carry out these meetings under conditions that are appropriate to the dignity of the movement.

For example, one arrives in a village of 800 and finds a meeting with 60 to 80 in attendance. Two dozen are members of the HJ **[The Hitler Youth]** or the BDM **[the girls' organization]**, etc. The 80 visitors sit ashamed along the walls, one here, two there. Aside from these few people, the seats before the speaker are empty, and the walls are undecorated. The speaker has a five or six hour train ride behind him, and is now supposed to preach Adolf Hitler's gospel in these unworthy surroundings. He puts all his ability into it, trying to salvage what he can. Generally he will not succeed in establishing a strong connection with the audience under such conditions. Then the meeting chairman will stand up and say a few inappropriate words, after which the few present will sing the national anthem and the "Horst Wessel Song" out-of-tune. The meeting has sunk to the depths. That may not be the rule, but there are still, unfortunately, such meetings.

The few citizens who attend such a miserable meeting will avoid future meetings - and can one blame them? Such meetings are nothing but a disaster for the movement in the area. The organizers of such meetings should be reminded that we filled our meetings to overflowing during the struggle for power, and that often the blood of the best National Socialists was shed for them. How much more should we expect worth meetings today, in a total National Socialist state.

In my experience, what are the worst sins? Here are some suggestions for improvement.

Meeting Attendance:

It is certainly advisable to limit political meetings in villages during the summer as much as possible, or even to avoid them entirely, since farmers cannot easily free themselves to attend. In the other months, however, one should expect at least an attendance of 30% to 40% of the population. Good meeting leadership means a good meeting. It is no longer acceptable to have empty seats at a National Socialist meeting. Besides, a good attendance should be expected in the villages, since the inhabitants have relatively little else to do. It is not hard to interest villagers in political meetings, in contrast to city-dwellers who have new opportunities every day.

Propaganda:

I sometimes receive a distressing answer when I ask party officials about propaganda. "Propaganda" often consists of the local group leader distributing leaflets with an invitation from door to door. I cannot imagine such a leaflet bringing anyone, much less 400 people, to a meeting. A National Socialist meeting may not be prepared in so light and easy a manner. He who is lazy and organizes a meeting that fails is not up to his responsibilities, and unworthy of the confidence the movement has placed in him. How should one make propaganda in the

villages? There are many ways, all of which cannot be covered here. But one major point. The three most important people in a village are the local group leader, the mayor, and the local farmers' leader. At least these three should all be involved in the propaganda for political meetings. They are the pillars of propaganda. They should be assisted by other party leaders and the leaders of other organizations such as the S.A., the S.S., the NSKOB, the Labor Front, etc. These leaders along with their members can assist in propaganda. Other groups such as veterans can also of course be included. A meeting conducted by the local group leader should be held at least eight days before the public meeting. Thereafter, each leader should call a brief meeting of his organization and encourage people to promote the public meeting. It is essential that those who are not members of an organization are also persuaded to attend the meeting. There is no point in filling the hall only with those who have been ordered to attend.

Propaganda is by no means finished when this has been done. The evening before the meeting, and two hours before the meeting itself, the Hitler Youth should march through the village. Chants accompanied by their own band or one from a neighboring community should announce the meeting.

The local press will naturally make propaganda as well. Local news items are particularly effective. The meeting should also be announced by public officials or posted on bulletin boards. But these methods may not replace one's own work, in particular personal invitations.

These are just a few of the methods that can be used in every village, without incurring any cost. All of them together, not one alone, are necessary for success. The local group leader must be sure that a variety of means are used. Then the meeting will be a success.

The Meeting Itself:

The outward appearance of the meeting hall is often still not satisfactory. What is the minimum that must be done? First, the hall must be decorated with party symbols. If the hall owner himself does not have large Swastika flags, one should get them from schools, the mayor, private citizens, etc. If possible, there should be several flags in the hall. At the least, the platform on which the speaker stands must have a Swastika flag. Many villages are in or near forests. It will be easy to secure greenery and decorate the hall with it. The local women's group may find this a pleasant assignment!

Heating is a regular problem. I have often spoken at meetings in the winter that were too cold! The only stove is in a corner. It is lit only just before the meeting begins, and to save money the fire is not kept going. The few attendees cluster around the fire, producing a miserable sight. Those sitting near the speaker, and the speaker himself, freeze. The local group leader must see to it that the hall is well heated during the entire meeting. That naturally requires the appropriate negotiations with the hall owner. People will not come if they know they will freeze. They will stay in bed. Neither may the room be overheated. A hot room is impossible for the speaker and wears out the audience.

Only rarely are village meetings begun by ceremonial entrances of flag bearers. If there are enough flags, it is obvious that the meeting should begin with such a march. It is a worthy and moving ceremony that greatly influences the further course of the meeting. Naturally music is necessary. If there is no S.A. or Hitler Youth band, a piano may be an acceptable substitute, as long as it is not too out of tune and there is a good piano player available. It is a good idea to play a few marches or fighting tunes before the flag bearers march in. That gets the meeting excited and will even persuade some to show up in the first place.

The meeting chairman does not speak after the political speech is over. He merely closes the meeting - preferably with a single sentence - and announces the singing of the

national anthem. Anything more than that is bad! Even if the meeting chairman can speak well, he should not give a long speech, something that unfortunately sometimes happens. If there is some particularly reason to say something about local events, he may mention it in the context of the speech, but only then, and very briefly. Nothing more, Why should the meeting chairman add to the speaker's political address? The speaker has finished, and that should be that.

Handling Speakers:

Of course the local group leaders should treat the speaker as the guest of the local group. He should pick him up at the train station and bring him to his quarters. With a few exceptions, the speaker is not a full-time speaker, rather is a volunteer for the movement. He must be taken care of in every way. Payment should be made by the treasurer before the meeting. Sometimes, the treasurer is either not there, or "doesn't know anything." The speaker's honorarium is fixed by the *Gau.* It is not a "reward" for the speaker, rather it covers his expenses, meals, etc. It is not appropriate for the speaker and the local group leader to argue about money.

Evaluating the Speaker:

The local group leader is obligated to send a report about the meeting to the *Gau* office immediately afterward. Probably every *Gau* uses a questionnaire for this purpose. If the local group leader is not satisfied with the speaker, he can note this in the report. If there are still speakers here and there who are not up to the task, they must stop speaking and serve the movement in other ways. The local group leader has an important role in maintaining the speaker corps. In each report, he should judge the speaker strictly, but also fairly.

Front der Heimat

The source: "Front der Heimat," Folge 2, produced by the Gaupropagandaamt Oberdonau, Linz. It is undated, but its contents suggest that it appeared in October 1939.

Party Comrades!

We have recently heard the Führer speak twice. As always when the Führer speaks, his words fill our thoughts and feelings. They reach the individual as well as the nation. A Führer speech always has effects that last a long time, for weeks, and leaves citizens especially open to the great questions of the day.

This gives a clear task to party members, who share a responsibility for the attitudes and behavior of the people toward the life questions of the nation. The Führer's words are seeds in the people's hearts. The party member must care for this seed and see that it bears fruit. He will therefore study the Führer's speech word for word over and over again in order to master the arguments that he will need in face-to-face propaganda. If he is able to rely on the words of the Führer in all his conversations, he will be able to draw on the Führer's powerful authority that can reach and silence even the most stubborn complainer.

It might seem useful here to analyze the Führer's speeches section by section. That is exactly what may not be done. Each Führer speech is a unified whole, using language so clear that even the least educated citizen can follow its train of thought. That is what is so

wonderful about the Führer's speeches, and it would be a sin to try here to add our own interpretations. One can't treat them like a catechism. They work on our thoughts and feelings in their entirety. They are an experience that must not be diminished by overly clever discussion.

The task of each propagandist, therefore, is to guard the national experience of each Führer speech, to nourish the flame of enthusiasm, ever to encourage it. He will be able to do this if he gives his full devotion and earnestness to studying each word, letting them work on him each day anew. Then his conversations with citizens will be imbued with a glimmer of the rousing and unifying power that dwells in all the Führer's words.

We must keep the following in mind: the older generations of the German people are still in part influenced by the old bourgeois culture. Despite good will and an openness to the National Socialist outlook, the liberal thinking and feelings are still alive in these generations. The better part of the notorious complainers and know-it-alls belong to these older generations. These individuals still take themselves much too seriously. This individualism, for which private property is as holy as private opinions, is typical of the beer stool politician and countryside strategist who has his own opinions of every government decision or event. He crinkles his brow as if he himself had to solve the German need for raw materials. He uses as many foreign words as possible, usually incorrectly, to explain the complicated foreign currency situation. but his favorite pastime is making prophecies about foreign affairs. He worries about the future of the Baltic states or concludes that the Netherlands should be conquered. He announces that Russia sooner or later will annex Afghanistan, and doubts whether Rumania and Turkey can remain neutral. He never fails to explain how he would do things if he were in charge.

In brief, he is one of those people we often encounter who has a special talent to confuse ordinary people, to shake their faith and plunge them into uncertainty and doubt. Party members must make short work of these blabbermouths.

Of course, we must not forget that citizens have a natural desire to see behind the facade of the political stage, where their fate is after all being decided. This political desire is in itself healthy and is only an expression of the political consciousness of the whole nation. It should not be opposed. We can understand why the average citizen wants to know how long the war will last, and it is good that he turns to a party member for an answer, since he expects to find in him the proper political understanding.

But we must surely give the curious citizen a different answer than the one he expects. He must be told that in the National Socialist Führer state, the Führer and his advisers make all the important decisions without discussing them in advance in public. That is how our present situation differs from that of the World War. Then irresponsible party politicians in the German parliament could chatter about anything at all. This loose talk gave the enemy its most important information and its most damaging propaganda arguments. For example, on 29 November 1917 a certain Herr Haase gave a speech arguing for peace in the German Reichstag just as the army was winning a great victory on the Southwestern front. The Social Democratic press published the speech. A few days later, British planes dropped 100,000 copies of the speech over the German front. Thank God, we are protected from such examples of free speech. Today the world hears only the Führer's voice as the voice of Germany's political will. His voice is also the only one that the enemy can hear to learn what is important at any given point to the German leadership. And his words are unmistakably clear. The German people get their clear "information" from the Führer's voice as well. He who thinks he needs other information to evaluate the situation is like the soldier who sneaks over to the enemy camp at night to better "inform" himself.

This is how to evaluate the Führer's speeches. The main goal is to strengthen and deepen the people's confidence in every way. That is best done through example and by

forcefully dealing with all political muttering and complaining. We want the people to take a calm and sure outlook on things, but not a fatalistic one. In the long one, attitudes are critical. We will best be able to strengthen and firm up attitudes when we can add the authority of the Führer's words and experiences to the scales.

Radio Stations

The present situation of the German Reich has made it necessary, for military reasons, to close down many radio transmitters. Greater difficulties would result from their continued operation than are caused by closing them down.

Meanwhile, foreign stations around the Reich have begun an almost unbelievable campaign of lying agitation against Germany. The result is that the citizen scanning his radio dial finds a majority of enemy stations that he can easily hear at any time. As we know from the World War, such lies when repeated with the necessary insolence and patience do not lack for effect. It might be that some of our citizens weaken as a result of such steady influence and confusion could enter our ranks.

To combat this evil, the Reich government has announced a law that imposes the heaviest penalties for listening to foreign stations.

The first task of the party member is to obey the law himself. No one of us can say that he needs to know what foreign stations say for his own work. And the law does not make an exception for party members, as if their opinions were firmer than those of ordinary citizens.

The opposite is true. Experience shows that no one is unaffected by what he hears. Besides, anyone who has listened to such stations has the desire to tell someone about it. It makes no difference what he says. His talk proves that he has ignored the law and encourages others to do the same.

Remember too the words of Field Marshall Göring, who said that the greater part of foreign radio propaganda is nothing other than crude slanders of the Führer, the German army and the German people.

It is a matter of honor for each party member to set a good example, to avoid listening to foreign radio stations and to respond directly to those citizens who do, making clear to them how contemptible their behavior is. We certainly will never speak about foreign broadcasts ourselves!

The Meeting Campaign

by County Propaganda Leader Kurt Sperber, Breslau-Stadt

The source: "Die Versammlungswelle," *Die Hoheitsträger,* III (#1, 1939), pp. 27-28. It was also published in *Unser Wille und Weg,* (9, February 1939, pp. 44-46), a nonconfidential monthly of the party's propaganda headquarters.

When we speak of a meeting campaign, we are speaking primarily of mass meetings which are carried out in substantial numbers on a single day. When properly prepared, these campaigns have always had the desired results.

The spoken word remains our most effective method of propaganda, before our seizure of power as well as after.

Besides the mass meeting, we recognize another form of oral propaganda, individual conversation. However, the most effective propaganda remains that in which one can speak directly to the masses of the people.

Here I wish to examine the precise preparations that will lead to certain success, if they are followed to the last detail. Perfect preparation is the most important factor, which places great responsibility on the individual local groups and their propagandists.

First, the support of the entire organization for these mass meetings must be guaranteed. In preparation for a meeting campaign in Breslau, for example, the local groups began by reserving the meeting halls on the day appointed by the district office.

Above all one must be sure to reach the middle and smaller-sized areas, which enable us to reach each individual citizen with our meetings.

The work of the individual local groups is checked, and confirmed by them. The individual meeting halls are now confirmed, which gives us the total number of meetings. After determining the number of meetings, the next important step is to immediately request the necessary speakers from the Gau propaganda office. Not much more needs to be said here, since the work with the speakers themselves begins several days before the campaign, once confirmations have been received. Now is the time to begin energetic propaganda for the campaign.

This work should start 6-8 weeks before the date of the campaign.

In our district propaganda ring we have found the right means to guarantee the success of such a campaign.

In coordination with the district party leader, who should be notified in good time, the members of the district propaganda ring notify all offices, party units, organizations and groups to plan no meetings of their own in the 10-14 days prior to the campaign, and to inform their members of the approaching campaign.

Everything must center on the approaching meeting campaign.

That means making the public aware of the approaching campaign. Hold brief meetings with the press to inform them of the appropriate propaganda. In larger cities like Breslau, make contact with the radio, etc., as well.

Working with the press, which has the most significant task in publicizing the campaign, is particularly important.

Catchy headlines in the press, e.g. "80 Mass Meetings on a Single Day" or "80 Reich and *Gau* Speakers on a Single Evening" are the best ways to inform citizens.

It is important to find a powerful slogan for the campaign, under which other propaganda can fall.

The press should mention the campaign in every issue during the 10-14 days preceding the campaign. (Party officials can help out here if some newspapers fail to see that such publicity is not "overdone," rather necessary. The editors). This should always use the slogan of the campaign. Sometimes a headline alone is enough, which uses short and vivid sentences.

Several days before the campaign, the press can introduce the speakers. Effective articles in the press will build curiosity.

In larger cities, the radio will also assist in the publicity.

The various party units and groups are reminded to use their newsletters to encourage their members to attend the mass meeting of their local group.

The county and party offices send a letter to all leading officials of the party, as well as to government and city officials and the army, encouraging them to attend the meeting in their area, for it should be a community mass meeting.

A powerful poster should be ready for hanging three days before the campaign.

It is more effective when citizens see the same poster over and over again. There should therefore be a single poster for the campaign on which details of the individual meetings can be added (see below).

Other posters are forbidden during this period, so that only this poster is to be seen in businesses and building entrances.

Political leaders must repeatedly urge business owners and landlords to place this poster at a visible place, not in some inconspicuous corner.

The local groups should now distribute a leaflet to every household (see below).

The county office will contact the responsible leaders of the organizations to see to it that they appear at the appropriate meeting. They can be given a list of the meeting locales, and can inform the local group leaders several days in advance which meetings they will attend.

The speakers are the guests who serve as intermediaries between the people and the government.

If the speaker is to fulfill his tasks effectively, he must himself be persuaded.

A meeting must therefore be held to inspire the speakers to make this an experience.

After speakers accept, they are given their assignments and told to be there several hours early.

The day of the campaign dawned in Breslau. With pleasure, the propagandists heard people speaking of the campaign on the streets, in streetcars, and elsewhere.

The press carried the final stories. The face of the city was noticeably changed by posters, etc.

The county leader held a special reception. The mayor in Remter held a reception as well. He welcomed the guests and assured them of the interest of the city.

Speakers not familiar with Breslau were given a city tour.

The speakers then had dinner together.

Speakers drew lots for their locale, to rule out favoritism in assignments.

Each speaker drew a slip with the meeting at which he would speak.

The speakers tried to find out what they could about their assignments.

The local groups had been instructed to send a car for their speaker at a given time. Each local group or locale sent its propaganda leader, who himself learned of the speaker he would have only upon arrival.

The propaganda leaders arrive at the appointed time and are introduced to their speakers.

There must be enough time for the speakers and propaganda leaders to discuss the meeting, and deal with any special requests on the part of the speaker.

We can say that we in Breslau succeeded in getting all but the most hopeless citizens to show up at a meeting.

The press rightly spoke of empty streets on this evening.

Everyone was impressed by the campaign.

Entering a meeting hall was an experience. Halls were decorated elegantly. The mood recalled that of mass meetings during the period of struggle **[before 1933]**.

The center of the evening was the political speech alone; other distractions were avoided.

All the mass meetings were opened with a brief fanfare. A party leader gave a greeting. The flags were carried in, and the speaker began to talk. Nothing else belongs in a public mass meeting.

The old fighting spirit was alive in all the meetings, and an unprecedented enthusiasm crowned the propagandists' work.

One last thing. The day after, not a single poster for the campaign remained. How undisciplined it looks when days after tattered posters remain. As quickly as possible, the posters must be removed. That also is a kind of propaganda.

Leaflet Example:

> **Through our own Effort**
> **We Build Power and Strength!**
>
> ---
>
> Citizens!
> We expect that you too will attend one of the
> **62 mass meetings**
> at which famous national speakers will address the above theme.
>
> ---
>
> The location for local group Hilderbrand/Tschepine is the
> Piastenbräu on Friedrich Wilhlem Street.
> The meeting begins at 2015.
>
> Heil Hitler!
> The Local Group Leader

Poster Example:

> **Through our own Effort**
> **We Build Power and Strength!**
>
> **Leading men of the Party and National Speakers will hold**
> **62 Mass Meetings**
> **on 18 March 1938**
> **at 2015 in Breslau.**
>
> **For Local Group [Name of Group]**
>
> **the meeting will be at:**

First Course for Gau and County Propaganda Leaders of the NSDAP

The source: "1. Lehrgang der Gau- und Kreispropagandaleiter der NSDAP.," *Unser Wille und Weg,* 9 (1939), pp. 124-139.

The first course for *Gau* and county (*Kreis*) propaganda leaders was held from 24 to 26 April at the Ordensburg Vogelsang in the Eifel region. Participants included officials from the *Reichspropagandaleitung* **[the party propaganda central office]** led by staff leader Comrade Hugo Fischer, the *Gau* and district propaganda leaders, the leaders of the Departments of Active Propaganda, Culture, Film and Radio, as well as the leader of the *Gau* Ring for National Socialist Propaganda and People's Enlightenment.

After the introduction by staff leader Comrade Fisher, the following speakers addressed the gathering:

Monday, 24 April 1939

Reichsamtsleiter Walter Schulze, head of the Department for Active Propaganda, spoke on:

Propaganda: A Matter of the Heart, not of the Understanding!

It may seem unnecessary today, six years after the seizure of power, to discuss the theme "Is propaganda still necessary?" Still, I begin my speech today with it:

Example Nr. 1: It is not all that long ago that a "comrade" wrote the following letter to the *Reichspropagandaleitung*:

Dear *Reichspropagandaleitung*!

As of today I have been elected as propaganda leader of the local group of the NSDAP. In order to follow the directives of the *Reichsleitung*, etc....

Signature

Studienrat

Example Nr. 2 (February 1939):

A bookkeeper for a governmental women's clinic called the party leader responsible for his building and requested a rebuke. To understand his request, here is the background:

The government women's clinic, to legitimize itself from the NSDAP's standpoint, had a picture of the Führer only in the director's office. The party leader, when informed of the situation, called the bookkeeper and ordered him to buy about 210 Führer pictures which in number and size would correspond to the number of crucifixes in the building.

That's the background. Now for the rather funny request of the bookkeeper for a rebuke. He had ordered the first 26 Führer pictures, and now was being criticized. His superior demanded that he explain in writing "whether acquiring Führer pictures for rooms in the government women's clinic absolutely necessary."

Example Nr. 3 (17 January 1939):

A miner wrote in primitive, but perhaps because of that easily understandable, German to the *Reichspropagandaleitung*, asking if one could help him establish whether his 14-year-old son was a *Mischling*, that is, a half-Jew. He included several items, including a picture of the lad (?) and the notarized attestation of a doctor, which had the following amusing phrasing which we here provide in full:

"Doctor's Attestation

Hans ... from ..., Beethoven Street 43, born on 9. 12. 23 was examined by me today. The foreskin is fully present. He has not been circumcised.

Signed, Dr. ...

Name of town, 17. January 1939"

There followed an official seal.

These three examples, which could certainly be supplemented by a number of similar cases, are enough to show how necessary propaganda still is today.

But that is not the reason a propagandist should take up his work for the Führer's movement, rather from the conviction that it was, is and will remain his duty "to open and win the hearts of the last German citizen for Adolf Hitler and his idea." I emphasize the "heart," for if we had been able to get the idea across, the above three people would have understood us and would today be National Socialists in the truest sense of the word.

We see ourselves as propagandists of the Führer in the service of his movement. Our area of service is: the propaganda of the NSDAP.

I want to stress these words: "It [propaganda] was, is and remains, and indeed in its unshakable nature that developed during the struggle for power." By that I mean first, that we will continue to do everything that put us in a position to help the Führer take over the Reich, and second to eliminate everything today that dulls the sharpness of our weapons.

On the first point, let me give several examples. "In the beginning was the word." This sentence, made vivid to the entire people by the painting of Comrade Professor Hoyer, fills thousands of speakers today with pride. They are called to stand alongside the Führer in the midst of the people and proclaim his word and his idea. They serve the movement today as they have always served it. They are as willing as ever to sacrifice their time, their strength and health, their money, their spare time, their household duties and their family lives.

They stand before the people not only at the high points of National Socialism, during referendums, or the return of Austria, the Sudetenland, or Memel to the Reich. Since 1933 they have beaten the drums again and again, until even the last German heard the call of the Führer.

We know of no other time in history and no other nation on earth that can claim such a fanatical army of proclaimers of an idea. For the first time ever, National Socialism has built a shock troop that went to the very front, conquered the territory, and now dominates it. The leaders of this army know that the conquest can be held only by using the same means that were used it making it. The movement won the battle lacking nearly every technology of propaganda. It is clear that National Socialism conquered the hearts of the people only with heart, and that for the proclaimers of his idea the following is true:

"The mouth speaks because the heart is full."

Let us now go with the speaker to his arena, the meeting. The speaker has the right to expect that National Socialist meetings and mass meetings today be the same as they were during the struggle for power. That means that the meeting chairman has not only the duty to guarantee a good attendance using all the tested methods of the struggle for power, but also to be sure that each meeting has the proper National Socialist fighting spirit.

First of all, it is not enough to place a good advertisement for the meeting in the press. Rather, just as before the many-sided appeal of propaganda must reach everyone in order to achieve a true people's community by full attendance at each National Socialist event. That requires leaflets, posters on telephone poles and elsewhere, word-of-mouth propaganda, the timely involvement of party organizations and affiliated groups and not least flyers in every family's mailbox, whether printed or mimeographed.

The propaganda wardens of the German Workers Front and the block leaders must see to it that the meeting is announced in all suitable places in factories and bulletin boards of the party. The party's propaganda leaders must regularly encourage this. It is clear that such broad

and comprehensive propaganda for the meetings and mass meetings of the party will build the unified image of the party, its subsidiaries and associated organizations.

Experienced propagandists will have no difficulty avoiding forbidden methods, such as ordering whole factories to attend or filling the hall with party formations, etc.

We also need to focus our attention on the meeting halls themselves. The primary command is this:

"The meeting rooms of the party must be consistent with the dignity of the movement and the purity of its idea."

In the past we have eliminated the *Kitsch* that now and again appeared. As a healthy body eliminates that which is unhealthy, the National Socialist movement has eliminated the excesses of 1933.

For twenty years, it has proven to be best to depend on the speaker for the effect of the meeting. Here too it is clear that we must resist attempts to turn our meetings into ceremonies. That does not of course mean that music or a choir cannot contribute usefully to a meeting. To the contrary, they can help to set the mood that will help the speaker to give the best that he has: his whole heart. Evening after evening, power streams from the hearts of the speakers into the veins of the people, and lets them experience the Führer and his work, and thus celebrate National Socialism in the best sense.

[Note from the editor: In our next issue, we will carry further remarks of the head of the Department for Active Propaganda, Walter Schulze, on the slide show system of the NSDAP and other areas of activity of his department]

Reichsamtsleiter Walter Tießler, Head of the Reich Ring for National Socialist Propaganda and People's Enlightenment on:

The Reich Ring for National Socialist Propaganda and People's Enlightenment as an Instrument of the Propaganda Leader

If we are to understand the work of the Reich Ring for National Socialist Propaganda and People's Enlightenment, along with its Gau, country and local group subsidiaries, we must keep in mind its development and the reasons it was established.

After the seizure of power, we knew that all areas of party activity, propaganda included, were very decentralized. The various subsidiaries and affiliated organizations of the party, as well as other German organizations with propaganda offices, largely did not see the necessity to follow the party's propaganda directives, rather wanted to go their own way wherever possible. The result was that not only were different problems handled at the same time, they were handled in different ways. That inevitably produces uncertainty and mistrust on the part of the population. We can still see the results of this fragmented propaganda today in the most varied areas of our ideological and national life.

I do not want to mention difficulties with the churches here, rather content myself with this example. I was asked by a rather important office of a Gau how it could be possible that SS-Men were allowed only to marry girls with blond hair and blue eyes! When I replied that there was no such rule, I was informed that there was indeed a rule under which such girls had to be racially unobjectionable, which surely meant that they must have blond hair and blue eyes!

To end this fragmentation, the Assistant to the Führer issued a ruling in 1934 that laid out who was responsible for the various areas. The *Reichspropagandaleiter* was obviously responsible for propaganda. The *Reichspropagandaleitung* was given the responsibility of establishing a way to ensure the unity of propaganda, of leading the individual propaganda offices. At first, it attempted to meet the task through the existing department of "Active

Propaganda." When the head of "Active Propaganda" determined that the job was too big to be handled by his department and that a special office within the *Reichspropagandaleitung* was necessary, the *Reichspropagandaleiter* **[Goebbels]** established the Reich Ring for National Socialist Propaganda and People's Enlightenment, along with its *Gau*, county and local rings.

At first, the propaganda rings consisted of liaisons from party propaganda offices at the Reich, *Gau*, county and local group levels. As "liaisons of organizations," representatives from other organizations were also added. At first we limited participation to leading organizations, but later we saw that it was necessary to include other associations, to include a liaison even from the most insignificant group. *Gau* Greater Berlin was the first to show the way, though *Gau* Bavarian-Ostmark began almost simultaneously. This proved that a unified leadership of every last association was necessary not only in large cities, but also in more rural *Gaue*.

The organization of the propaganda rings was extraordinarily difficult, since at first they had no clear organizational structure. As this problem became increasingly clear, the *Gau* propaganda leaders asked that the *Gau* and county rings have the same organizational structure as other main departments already had. At the request of the *Reichspropagandaleiter*, the Assistant to the Führer then declared the *Gau* and country rings main departments. The local group propaganda leader was responsible for local group rings in smaller groups, with a special political leader taking responsibility only in larger local groups. The importance of establishing the authority of the *Gau*, county and local group rings is shown by the difficulties in leading all the propaganda offices in the party's subsidiaries, affiliated organizations and other organizations. We could regularly see that not all offices were exactly eager to follow the party leadership. In each case it is important to guarantee the unity of propaganda and to be sure that the work is consistent at every level from the Reich down to the local group. This becomes still clearer when we consider the individual tasks that flow out of the general responsibility to secure the unity of propaganda.

If a task is to be organized, it is necessary to organize the people who will carry it out. For this reason, it is necessary to continually organize the propagandists. This happens in personal meetings, but also at meetings of the *Gau*, country and local group propaganda rings, through which the comradely cooperativeness of propagandists is encouraged. That requires that the leaders of the *Gau*, county and local group rings speak to important meetings of propagandists of the various organizations and always remind them that the work of each individual organization has meaning only when it fits into the the larger propaganda plan of the NSDAP.

In courses lasting several days for the propagandists of the party's subsidiaries and affiliated organizations as well as those from other organizations, the propaganda work is organized in a unified way. We did not begin this simultaneously in every *Gau*, rather first gathered the experiences of *Gau* East Prussia. Alongside this organizational work, directives and guidelines affecting the whole propaganda strategy are given, as well as those specific to individual Gaus, which are carried by *Gau* or county newsletters. To ensure proper organization of propaganda actions, it is necessary that details both of content and scheduling be reported to the relevant Reich, *Gau*, county or local group ring. The content must be examined to see if it is consistent with the general propaganda plan, or whether it must be changed or postponed. With regards to scheduling, it must be emphasized that there are a few *Gaue* under the mistaken impression that offices other than the propaganda office can change a schedule. The decision as to whether a meeting is necessary or not must be made on the basis of the morale of the population. It is solely a matter of propaganda to determine the necessity of a meeting and to establish the schedule.

With regards to propaganda as a whole, it is necessary to guide the activities of the individual organizations, e.g. large campaigns such as winter relief, elections, national holidays, the Four Year Plan, etc. *Amtsleiter* Comrade Fischer has decided that, in order to guarantee the unified activities of the *Gau*, county and local group rings in the production of brochures, books, etc., and to avoid their misuse, the use of *Gau* rings for national campaigns can be approved only by himself or the Reich Ring. Naturally, the Reich Ring will support the work of the individual offices and organizations.

The role of membership and professional gatherings should not be underestimated as a way of organizing some parts of the population. Particular issues can be discussed, but there is also the opportunity to reach particular groups with particular questions and to deal with problems associated with a particular profession.

Association and professional publications are another way to assist overall propaganda goals. This must be constantly evaluated from a propaganda point of view. Furthermore, articles can be provided to the association or professional press on important occasions such as elections, the Four Year Plan, etc. This helps ensure that every last citizen is informed on important questions.

It is obvious that brochures and posters must be examined to be sure they are consistent with the goals of propaganda. For this reason, all printed matter must first be approved by the responsible propaganda leader to be sure that the material is appropriate from the standpoint of propaganda, or whether it may in fact be unnecessary. In summary, the *Gau,* county or local group propaganda rings give the relevant propaganda leader an instrument by which he can organize all propaganda in a unified way and use all propaganda offices and means of the party's subsidiaries and affiliated organizations and other organizations. It gives him a way to reach every last citizen with propaganda. It is also clear that a propaganda ring leader can be effective only when his authority is clear both in an organizational and personal sense. It is not enough that the propaganda ring leader receives the necessary authority through his position in the whole propaganda system; propaganda leaders must also ensure that each organization knows and understands that the propaganda ring leader is its representative for all questions of propaganda from the party's subsidiaries, affiliated organizations and other organizations. A propaganda leader will be able to fulfill his important duties if he is able to organize and lead in a unified way every organization from the biggest society to the least club. A leader of a propaganda ring must possess not only abilities as a propagandist, but also the ability to achieve his goals more through cooperation than discipline. Only after he determines that a representative of a given organization cannot be lead because he is unwilling to be lead should he resort to discipline. Then it is necessary to act resolutely in the interests of the party, without worrying about his popularity. Our goal is not to be popular or unpopular, rather it is to tirelessly and fully do our duty: To secure the primacy of the party in the area of propaganda, which also means to guarantee the unity of propaganda!

State Secretary Syrup from the Ministry of Labor spoke on:

Current Labor Questions

State Secretary Syrup began with an overview of the labor field, which far surpasses that of any other nation. The Reich has 40 million workers, over against 22 million in England and France, 18 million in Poland, and 2.5 million in Belgium. As large as the tasks we face are, we must remember that this enormous labor force is Germany's wealth. The Reich before 1933 squandered this resource and tried to explain its failure with the excuse that these millions of unemployed workers - about 25 million in Europe and the USA, with Germany in the lead - were the result of the world economic crisis. This same Reich that because of the

world economic crisis was unable to employ these millions of unemployed was nonetheless able to find 28 million RM to spend on absolutely unproductive unemployment assistance.

The speaker went on to prove how false the assertion was that the world economic crisis was responsible for unemployment. Despite the continuing world economic crisis, Adolf Hitler was able to eliminate unemployment. This achievement was possible only because of the activities of National Socialism and the power of our worldview. Our idea was assisted by financial policies of the state, which spent 5 or 6 billion RM to build the economy. This was possible only because the government acted without regard for short-term results. Germany broke with liberal thinking and saw that the long-term results would justify the expenses.

State Secretary Syrup said that it had been necessary to devote special resources to areas with a particularly high unemployment rate, for example, Berlin Hamburg, Bremen, etc. To eliminate unemployment in these areas, it had been necessary to prohibit people from moving into these areas, for example. Other difficulties resulted from the age differentials among the unemployed and the preference of employees to hire younger workers. The seriousness of this problem is demonstrated by the fact that during a given period, two-thirds of the 18-30 year old unemployed found jobs, but only a third of older workers. By reviewing hiring practices in factories, among other measures, as well as military service on the part of younger workers, the problem was largely alleviated. These measures meant that by 1936 the slogan "to each a job" could be replaced by the slogan "to each his job," as suggested by the Führer at the beginning of the campaign. In light of today's shortage of skilled workers and the major demands of the Four Year Plan, the need to increase Germany's security, etc., that needs once more to be changed. Today it is no longer to give each the job he wants, rather to give each the job that he is best able to do. This means that some workers must return to former jobs. State Secretary Syrup stressed how important it is to guide occupational choices of the youth, particularly with regards to skilled trades. After dealing with questions of manpower use, State Secretary Syrup went on to discuss job changes, particularly in view of the shortage of skilled labor. He explained the necessity of regulations restricting job changes in certain occupations. Job changes not only cause the loss of valuable work time, but unsettle other employees and reduce production.

The need for such regulations to control the labor force and to ensure peace and security is proven by the serious labor shortages. There are 300,000 job openings in agriculture, 600,000 in commerce, and 300,00 in the medical system.

The pressing shortage of labor in important branches of the economy endangers numerous smaller firms, which guarantee neither sufficient financial return nor the full use of the employees. A further source of workers not yet used but available is the 2 to 2 1/2 million daughters of our people who so far are not employed. The women's service year is a first step in this direction. Some suggest that we should persuade Germans living outside our borders to return to Germany as a way of finding more workers. State Secretary Syrup said that the conditions for such a return did not presently exist, and that these racial comrades are German pioneers abroad who are important supporters of our exports.

A further important question is how to stem the flight from the countryside. State Secretary Syrup said that a major reason for this was the rural population itself, which encouraged family members to take up other occupations. The seriousness of this migration is shows by the fact that alongside the 2 million farm workers who have left agriculture for other occupations, 4.5 million farmers' sons and daughters have left their farms and sought other occupations. This fact demonstrates the necessity of measures to stop the migration. Naturally, there are other problems causing this migration that need to be solved. One method to reduce the problem, State Secretary Syrup suggested, is to increase mechanization, which requires a reduction in prices for equipment and energy, etc., as well as changes in social structures and relationships.

Tuesday, 25 April 1939

Reichsamtsleiter Neumann, head of the Department of Film in the RPL, spoke on

The Film Work of the Party

He began with a discussion of the value of film in propaganda. He first discussed the film propaganda during the First World War of Jews who had left Germany. He showed how this filthy Jewish work had caused hatred and dislike of the German people throughout the world both during and after the the World War. Bolshevist Russia too used film in its propaganda for its revolutionary idea. We can easily enough recall their work from the period of the System **[before 1933]** when we think, for example, of the film "Battleship Potemkin." Comrade Neumann also mentioned that the film system of Bolshevist Moscow also was an example of the extermination of the intelligentsia under terror.

Comrade Neumann then discussed the necessity for National Socialist leadership in the area of film. He mentioned in particular the role of the state film offices in educating the people, in influencing both their taste and their will, so that they will accept National Socialist policies and production leadership. Direct political propaganda is less significant here than influencing culture, education and entertainment. The influence of film on the people is demonstrated by the fact that 45 million people, among them 13 million children, attended the various *Gau* film shows of the NSDAP.

Comrade Neumann then discussed the reasons why the party has so far produced few films. He concluded that the party's film work should primarily promote particularly good films produced by private companies. This also allows greater influence on those firms. The speaker concluded with an appeal to strengthen film propaganda in the *Gaue* and counties and to make them a means of propaganda that can at any time serve the community.

Reichsamtsleiter Kriegler, Head of the Radio Department of the RPL, spoke on:

The Radio Work of the NSDAP

Comrade Kriegler showed the significance of the party's radio work for political leadership, world view education, and the whole National Socialist life and building program of our era by tracing the development of the radio offices of the party during the struggle for power. He noted that even many party members failed to see the necessity of the radio warden organization. It was vital during the NSDAP's struggle for power to create an organization that could handle the technical details of mass meetings, as well as to protect and maintain that equipment. At that time our enemies controlled the government, and obviously had no interest in making such a propagandistically valuable tool available to our leadership. The organization the party built meant that, once we were in power, we had the expert, technical and artistic ability to use this propaganda apparatus. The listener organization that our radio wardens built was also an important legal means we could use to call a listener strike, a method that gained us the respect of the radio's leaders of the time.

After the seizure of power, we had a trained radio warden corps that was ready from the beginning to participate in many propaganda campaigns and political measures of the party and state.

The speaker then talked about the wishes of many *Gaue* and regions for more radio stations, and said that propagandists must not forget that there are world agreements on frequencies that are hotly debated at international conferences. Germany has a rather favorable number of frequencies at its disposal, and therefore has an interest in not upsetting international agreements by constantly asking for new ones.

The necessity to reach all regions and groups of the country by radio, free of interference from outside, has led to the development of wired radio. This new technical development makes radio independent of the airwaves and enables programming to be carried by cables that cannot be interfered with by foreign jamming. This system is being built throughout the country, and is already available in many *Gaue*.

Related to this is the construction of public loudspeakers and community radio. The public loudspeakers are limited to larger cities, but community radios will be extended to even the smallest area, giving the Führer and his associates the opportunity to reach the people at any time. To reach this goal, each radio leader must see it as his task to be a middleman between audience and station, helping the German radio to find an ever increasing audience.The regular campaigns by the Radio Department of the RPL to provide radio receivers to poor citizens help to reach this goal. In 1938, for example, there were 1,755,000 new listeners. An additional 156,811 new listeners came from German Austria. There are already 846,466 small receivers, and 400,062 people's receivers were sold during the same period. Radio office heads also have many tasks in advising and helping landlords and renters, as well as providing help with antennas.

In conclusion, Comrade Kriegler gave a brief overview of the major new tasks for the party's radio offices. He mentioned above all television, which is already being tested in the Reich.

Ministerialdirektor Lange from the Ministry of Economics spoke on:

National Socialist Taxation and Financial Policy

Party Comrade Lange stressed at the beginning of his remarks that the National Socialist state viewed money only as a means to an end. Money is only a medium of exchange, for which we expect something in return. This is particularly clear from National Socialist finance policy from 1933 to 1935. The Reich pumped billions of marks into the German economy to build employment. Such a policy would necessarily have led to inflation in a liberal state, but that did not happen in a National Socialist controlled state because these billions were transformed into accomplishments.

The sensitivity with which the economy reacts to each influence from outside or to changes requires extreme caution. Changes must be slow and well thought out. That explains why, for example, the German Reichsbank remained anchored in old financial thinking until its reorganization. The result were that the activities of the capital market frequently moved against the needs of the community without the necessary planning and goals. That sometimes resulted in expenditures that sometimes were that did not help savings or planning. That led, among other things, to surpluses in the so-called *Locklöhne,* which necessarily led to disruptions in the economy. Party comrade Lohne stated that the Reichsbank may not carry out its own financial policies, rather must serve the common good. No one but the Führer determines the main political policies, which finance and the economy as a whole must follow. The new Minister of Economics and President of the Reich Bank, Party Comrade Funk, will do that. With his appointment, the German central bank, the Reich Bank, has become an instrument serving National Socialist policies.

Such a transformation does not happen without opposition both at home and abroad, which means the party membership has the responsibility to explain and help in the implementation of National Socialist principles. The propagandist must follow these guidelines in his educational work:

For us, gold is not a measure of the value of money. Our foundation is German labor and confidence in the Führer.

The relationship between money and goods must be balanced. In other words, the value of money is determined only by what is produced.

Given the economic reorganization, it is clear that the individual cannot think only of his own good. All economic activity must be organized and led in a way that serves the needs of the community. The Four Year Plan is an example.

Moving to that theme, Party Comrade Lange spoke of the necessity to guarantee the materials essential for our nation, such as fuel, Buna, new raw materials, etc. He went on the discuss the viability of these materials, which is sometimes questioned. There can be no question of viability, since if the world does not supply Germany with these essential materials, we are forced to procure them ourselves, in which case the market price has no significance for us. These new materials not only free Germany from dependence on other countries, but also have the advantage that they can be manufactured in ways suitable for a wide range of end uses. This alone makes new materials superior to the old natural products.

The speaker emphasized that the state has no intention of establishing a monopoly in the production and use of the new materials. This process is entirely the responsibility of private enterprise. This does not mean that the National Socialist state favors the independence of the economy. If such is attempted or if the economy is unwilling to do what needs to be done, it is ready to react energetically, as the example of the Hermann Göring Works demonstrates. Such a policy is entirely consistent with the National Socialist outlook, which believes that politics governs the economy, that politics, not economics, determines the fate of the nation.

The importance of this principle in the economy is clear from the fact that in 1938 the available contracts far exceeded the production capacity. The economy, which only a few years ago was in weak condition, now needs guidance to meet the demands placed on it.

Guiding production is not a problem of money, merely a question of organization. An essential requirement for such guidance is stability. This stability cannot be threatened by *Locklöhne.*

In summary, Party Comrade Lohne said that National Socialist economic policy rests on three pillars: raw materials, work force, and financial capacity. Careful guidance in these three areas will avoid difficulties.

In this regard, the incorporation of Austria, the Sudetenland and Bohemia and Moravia has not been a burden, rather a positive gain.

A further goal of National Socialist economic policy has to do with the stock market. Just as the work force and labor policy have been freed from liberal profit seeking, so too the money and credit markets in the National Socialist state have been freed from uses that are interested only in profit. Money and its use too must serve the community, not the greed of the individual.

Ministerialdirektor Lange explained that through controls on the capital market, the means necessity to build low income housing have been guaranteed.

National Socialist financial policy assures everyone that the financial and economic policies of the Reich are secure, and that inflation, a betrayal of the people, a theft of their work and accomplishments, will not occur. That is a sure result of Hitler's way, will and deed.

Staatsraat Willy Börger, *Ministerialdirektor* in the Reich Ministry of Labor, spoke on:

From Practice to the Idea:
What We Need to Do

Party Comrade Börger began by noting that a great idea can never be extinguished by shedding the blood of its adherents, rather than shed blood only gives it renewed life.. History shows that such an idea can be defeated only by a stronger and better idea. Our task is therefore to strengthen and deepen this new and powerful idea in the German people, an idea that has overcome all others. One of the most important aspects of this effort concerns the German youth. We must bring them under our influence and make them immune to attempts to reach them with foreign and divisive ideas. How easily such a foreign idea can take root in a people is showed by the common phrase "the poor Jews," which has its origins and the thinking of the churches.

Party Comrade Börger discussed questions of good and evil. For us good is always what is good for the people. The good must always be clear, for as we have always said, "to be German means to be clear."

In dealing with the enemies of our world view and their teaching, Party Comrade Börger outlined the goals of the National Socialist worldview. Both today and in the future, our goal is to see to it that each individual is increasingly aware of the people and its thought, that he sees himself as links in an eternal chain, as a bearer of future generations. He should be proud of his position and learn the history and life of his people. He should not bother about things that do not concern him and have no significance for him. He should be brought out of the confusion that has developed over the decades from the conflicting teachings of religion and Marxism. Only through constant repetition of his own nature will the German person be converted to a way of thinking that was previously foreign to him. Our faith and will for the Führer must grow through our work to an understanding of our Germanness. Then our idea will be the only idea and Germany will be eternal.

The high point of the day was the speech of the Special Representative of the Führer for the Supervision of the Entire Spiritual and Worldview Education of the NSDAP, *Reichsleiter* Party Comrade Alfred Rosenberg on:

Worldview Problems of our Day

Party Comrade Rosenberg began his speech with a discussion of the tasks of education and propaganda. Education has the responsibility to form the will and the idea, independent of existing conditions. Propaganda's task is mobilize the forces, deal with current issues and deepen the idea.

In discussing worldviews, Party Comrade Rosenberg observed that the pre-war generations probably had worldviews. They lacked a defining experience of the kind that the World War was for the National Socialist worldview. The National Socialist worldview has caused a world struggle that many peoples feel today. We must distinguish between questions that only concern the German people, and those that involve the rest of the world. We do not have a desire to transplant parts of our worldview to other nations. We have no wish for a National Socialist federation of nations, which would then require a kind of church council to determine what true National Socialism is. On the other hand, questions about the Jews, Free Masonry and democracy are things that also concern other nations.

The propaganda that the rest of the world directs against Germany is the result of the thinking of the world's leading men. They owe their positions to the democratic system and will perish if it perishes. They fight against us because they fear that they will be defeated and be forced to resign. Party Comrade Rosenberg gave an historical overview of the movement

of Europe's center. For 400 years, Europe's western nations represented it to the rest of the world. Today, as was the case 1000 years ago in the time of the great German emperors, Germany once again leads Europe. The might that once stretched from the Baltic Sea to Sicily has been restored by National Socialist Germany and Fascist Italy.

Once again Germany is defending Europe against the attack of the East. This gives our struggle a German significance and a European mission. Some may think that given the last 400 years of German history, Germany is not a politically significant nation, rather a nation of philosophers, inventors, etc. But one must recall that German history is far longer than these 400 years. Party Comrade Rosenberg emphasized the necessity of making this fact clear in education and propaganda to the German people.

It is necessary to do so, for Germans are only in the position to accomplish great things and give full energy to the struggle when they understand the inner meaning of the struggle and of their actions.

Mussolini once said that without Rome, Christianity would have remained a Syrian sect. Without German strength, Christianity would have remained confined to the Mediterranean Sea.

We know today that the old world is dying and that we are seeing the struggle for a new world. In the past the German people conducted worldview struggles with great intensity. The same is happening today. We are witnesses that what we have already done is beginning to happen elsewhere as well.

In discussing our worldview, Party Comrade Rosenberg observed that it is no mere theory, rather proved its strength and character in our fourteen-year struggle for power. Our struggle today is a continuation. Our faith gives us strength for battle. This faith must become the will and living faith of the entire German people. To do that is the task of the movement.

The National Socialist worldview is an attitude, an attitude that must show a courageous face to the outside, but domestically be infused with camaraderie. If the people are to continue to believe in the National Socialist movement, the movement must maintain and guard this camaraderie and pass it on to the future. The struggle behind us is unique. Future generations will be spared such a struggle. It must be replaced by a firm attitude, which can only be tested in every day life. Our task is to reawaken the old values of courage and pride in our people, and to do all that we see as necessary.

In conclusion, Party Comrade Rosenberg noted that world history today must be rewritten, and that we will do the rewriting. It would be a mistake to delegate the task to the teachers and professors who wrote previous histories, for they grew up under the old world and were educated in it. The 2000 year old Christian age is dying and a new National Socialist world under Adolf Hitler is being born. The youth are growing up in this new world. Our task is to serve these ideas and to lead the struggle. Then we will be able to look confidently into the future.

Wednesday, 26 April 1939

Reichsamtsleiter Geiger, Head of the Reich Propaganda Office of the German Labor Front, spoke on:

The German Labor Front

Party Comrade Geiger began by stressing the necessity of the absolute unity of the party and its members. This will only be possible if the movement becomes more and more like a holy order. The absolute security and existence of the nation is assured only as long as the movement affirms such a position. The correctness of the policy was clearly shown during the struggle for power, which there were only two rules for National Socialists. One was "The Führer is always right." The other was "The enemy is lying." These two principles and the unity of will were the foundation of the movement's later victory. History too provides many examples of movements that were defeated by their opponents only after they had lost absolute internal unity.

Frederick the Great established two orders: the German officer corps and the German civil service. Both followed the order principle of absolute duty. To these orders that lasted for centuries and accomplished great deeds. Adolf Hitler added the order of camaraderie. The movement now has the duty to practice this order principle of camaraderie given us by the Führer. That rules out any possible internal dissent ion within the party. Party members, and political leaders especially, must be models in behavior and sacrifice to other citizens.

Party Comrade Geiger then turned to his area. If one understands the concept "creative person," one understands the German Labor Front. Germany today is once again a national community. This is the work of the worker Adolf Hitler, a man through whose belief in the German worker gave that worker renewed faith in Germany. The German worker kept his faith despite constant betrayals, despite the efforts not only of his leaders but also of the foolish attitude of certain circles which stood aside from the German people, and always did his best for his people. The Führer's measures in the most varied areas should above all deepen the pleasure of the German worker in his work in building the new state.

Reichsamtsleiter Motz, head of the Department of Agricultural Policy, spoke on

Current Issues in Agricultural Policy

Party Comrade Motz began with an overview of the significance of guaranteeing our food supplies for the development and political freedom of the German people. He showed how Reichsminister Party Comrade Dr. Darré had decided on radical measures to free German agricultural policy from the liberal past. The establishment of the Reich Food Estate and the development of a market system for agricultural products was absolutely necessary. The German people has grown in number and expectations, requiring more foodstuffs which have been secured through the production battle. The battle required leadership and guidance, which has been provided by the Reich Food Estate. How superior the Party's leadership of agricultural production is to the old liberal system is shown by the production battle. For German farmers, increasing production is uneconomic, since increasing the fertility of the soil requires additional work and labor, which is not repaid by the results. The result is that our agricultural economy has serious problems, the worst of which is the flight from the land. The migration means overwork for German farmers, especially farm women, resulting in dangers to their health as well as to a reduction in agricultural production that may endanger the nation. National Socialism considers it necessary to use all available means to deal with this problem. It is essential to lead the farming population in a clear, but sensitive manner. This is the job of the party. The Reich Food Estate's task is to guide the entire German food production system with the same strong and broad leadership.

An essential support for the rural population is to secure the proper understanding for them on the part of the city and industrial population. They must understand the currently unavoidable shortages in certain areas, and accept them calmly, as befits a politically mature nation.

On the question of guaranteeing Germany's good supply in the future, the speaker discussed the differences between England and Germany in the matter of territorial acquisition. While England has adopted a policy of world conquest without any agricultural need, rather for reasons of economic greed that resulted in the destruction of its own farming population, Germany sees its long term security as requiring territory beyond its present borders for living room and agricultural production. The National Socialist state considers it essential to keep the German farmer economically strong and socially secure, for only such a strong agricultural population can guarantee the continuation of our blood and ensure our agricultural independence from the larger world in case of necessity.

Reich Organization Leader Dr. Ley:

We and the Others

Party Comrade Dr. Ley referred to the continuing disorder in the rest of the world, which shows itself in alarming headlines every day and in useless conferences, comparing it to the absolute order and security of life in Germany and Italy, where decisions of great importance are being made. The reason for the contrast is that the Führer has given us clear aims, a clear direction, and self-confidence. That is impossible in the democracies, and explains their constant insecurity. The scope of this insecurity is demonstrated by England's recent introduction of universal military service. Never before in a time of peace has England felt it necessary to take such an action, which shows its nervousness. In the United States, a radio show about the appearance of men from Mars is sufficient to cause panic-stricken flight from the cities. If one seeks the reason for the uncertainty, one sees that the fear of the spreading authoritarian idea is used by the Jews to mobilize their satellites, which include the entire black-red-gold Internationale. Germany knows that it can approach this battle with quiet assurance and confidence in ultimate victory.

The Reich Organization Leader went on to show the nature of the worldview struggle of our day and the contradictions between our ideas and those of others with numerous clear examples.

After discussing the Jewish world enemy, the Reich Organization Leader concluded his remarks with a discussion of the territorial question. The German people need more land. No amount of work, no sermons, no organization like "Kraft durch Freude," no pride in our army, can eliminate our territorial inadequacy. As long as this situation remains, the danger of a revival of Marxist ideas exists. Every meeting must include an appeal for more territory. Germany's colonies were such territories. They were senselessly stolen from us, and it is a matter of German honor to get them back. Germany does not want pressure or destroy other nations, but it needs more territory. When other nations claim that the world has already been carved up, the answer must be that England does not have rights to the entire world. The German people must hear this over and over again. Just as the idea gave us strength during the periods of struggle and construction, today it is essential to strengthen the idea in the entire people. Strengthening the idea means overcoming all human weaknesses. This educational work is the duty of the party.

At the conclusion of the course, *Reichspropagandaleiter* Dr. Goebbels gave a programmatic speech on:

The Nature of Propaganda

The *Reichspropagandaleiter* began with the frequently expressed viewpoint that today, since the party has seized state power and the people are National Socialist, propaganda is no longer necessary. Such a view is not only false, it shows that its adherents have no understanding of the nature of propaganda. Propaganda has not only a right to exist, it has a need to exist. Its task is to keep the people persuaded, and to mold coming generations. This shows the difference between propaganda and people's enlightenment. Propaganda is a revolutionary-political concept. People's enlightenment limits itself to informing the people in a more factual way about existing necessities and questions.

National Socialism created propaganda in its present form as an instrument of politics. Dr. Goebbels went on to discuss the results of propaganda's absence in Germany, particularly during the World War, as well as the decisive role propaganda had in enemy countries. The same is true of a nation's domestic life. A movement seeking power can hold that power only when it uses the same means to preserve its power that it used to gain it. He therefore who doubts the need for National Socialist propaganda doubts the right of the National Socialist idea to exist.

A further reason for the necessity of propaganda, according to Party Comrade Dr. Goebbels is that it must be tailored to the understanding and receptivity of the people. Some maintain that it is increasingly necessary to increase the intellectual level of our propaganda, particularly speeches. On the contrary, our meetings are intended for the entire people and must therefore be put in a form that everyone can understand. It is not the goal of the speaker to speak to only a part of the audience. One only needs to think of the churches, whose preachers largely speak in a way understandable by all. The task of propaganda is not to complicate things, but to simplify them. It should not present many problems, rather only a few that can be put in a clear way to the people. Dr. Goebbels used the example of our battle against the Young Plan. The movement then did not deal with every detail of the treaty, rather focused on particular points and used them to show the people clearly its dangers. The people are not interested in details, rather want to see the results in brief and clear form.

The speaker pointed out the differences between a speech and a lecture. The speaker has the duty of speaking clearly and plainly to the people, without raising problems, etc. An lecture is something else. Its audience knows that it will hear a discussion of intellectual issues and will have to think about them.

Simplification means further that propaganda must focus on the essential and leave aside the nonessentials.

We must continue to use both now and in the future those means of propaganda that proved their value during the struggle for power. We must naturally keep from falling into routine. Our propaganda must achieve its goals though fighting work, which means that tasks being repeated must be approached as if they were being done for the first time.

Speakers should not rely too heavily on technical methods. A microphone is not necessary in a small room. The fighting character of our meetings requires that we speak to the people extemporaneously. Only in that way can the contact between speaker and listener be created which will allow the speaker to speak from his heart to the hearts of the listeners.

The *Reichspropagandaleiter* then turned to the attitude of the rest of the world to the new Germany, and the resulting propaganda tasks. If the world is against Germany and shows no understanding for the nature and needs of the German people, propaganda must seize the world's ear and combat boycotts and encirclements.

In conclusion, Comrade Dr. Goebbels discussed some internal propaganda matters.

So ended the first course for *Gau* and county propaganda leaders. The participating propagandists received a wealth of new material and encouragement, which they will transform into practical work once they are back home.

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The Political Work of the Radio Announcer

by Eugen Hadamovsky

The source: Eugen Hadamovsky, "Die politische Arbeit des Rundfunksprechers," in *Handbuch des deutschen Rundfunks 1939/40* (Heidelberg, Kurt Vowinckel Verlag, 1939), pp. 26-30.

To outsiders, the work of those in the radio who are right next to the Führer or his top aides at the time of important events seems mysterious. The men of the radio, and particularly the reporters or announcers, experience directly what others only learn through newspapers, photographs, or radio broadcasts..

But decisive political events do not take place “behind the scenes,” rather they are intended to gain the participation of the whole population. Dr. Goebbels opens the doors, the

conference rooms, the meeting halls, the four walls of diplomatic negotiations, and lets the people and the world participate. The broadest public participates in important events through pictures, news reports, the accounts of capable announcers, or though direct broadcasts of political events.

The principle of National Socialist foreign policy is to mobilize the whole popular will for certain international goals. There is therefore no secret diplomacy in Wilson's sense, no backroom negotiations like those Roosevelt, the English, and the cabinets of nearly all the European capitals have attempted to use against us this year.

That must be open and clear to the world.

I have the most vivid memories of how our radio experts, in close cooperation with the central programming office and the best German announcers, were present at the major conferences of last year, such as the visits to Germany by Chamberlain and Mussolini, or of our participation in the year's major political events.

This May, as the German-Italian Friendship and Mutual Support Pact was signed in the Embassy Hall of the Reich Chancellery, we found ourselves there with the Führer, the foreign ministers of both countries, the commanders of the German army, and many German and Italian diplomats.

The announcer chosen by the Central Programming Office (Landgraf from Berlin) understood how to convey this truly historic hour with almost military objectivity, avoiding empty phrases and emotion. It was one of the most interesting and gripping broadcasts of the year.

Another example. On 1 May, the Führer received the workers, Hitler Youth and BDM members who were victors in the Reich Occupational Competition. He spoke a long while with them, shaking each individual's hand, asking about their lives and their jobs. He discussed inventions, agricultural and industrial work, German production, family and household matters. We could listen to the Führer in a way we otherwise cannot.

An hour or two later, we choose several scenes from the event and our announcer used them to provide a lively account that once again was one of the most effective broadcasts. It was one of the programs that draws listeners to us! There are probably hundreds of thousands interested in music or literature, in symphonies or plays. But the millions who make up the audience of the new National Socialist radio are interested in politics. They are attracted by political radio. They are more interested in participating in great political events than in listening to a play by Mr. Fritz Müller or a serenade by Heinz Schulz. For them, the most important thing on the radio is the Führer's voice.

Events like the signing of the pact with Italy or the reception of the men and women who won the occupational competition are such that a hundred thousand could participate in as easily as fifty or a hundred. However, the deeply personal and human nature of such events, such meetings or conversations between the Führer and the youth, would be completely lost. When however Dr. Goebbels uses his photographers, his reporters, his radio, then there is a bridge from those who actually participate in such events to the millions who are not there. Of course we do disturb the event, unfortunately, by our presence, in order to carry the event to millions. It is not ideal when one has a once in a lifetime opportunity to speak with the Führer, only to have flashbulbs going off and reporters writing things down, or even to have a microphone recording it all.

But that has to happen so that everyone else can participate.

There are rules that the radio reporter must follow.

The most important rule is to be as inconspicuous and unobtrusive as possible.

He who charges through the crowd like a tank will not get anything useful for his microphone, but only disrupts the atmosphere.

Modesty, simplicity and restraint are necessary, but they must go hand in hand with energy and determination. Without them, one is outside the circle of what is happening, and will never get it. He will be no better than a photograph taken at a lucky moment.

When, however, the radio reporter brings his microphone "to the right man," he reveals the most private discussions between people. That is remarkable by itself. When two farmers speak from their hearts or two workers talk to each other, it becomes a wonderful and important human experience. But when one of these two workers is named Adolf Hitler, a conversation about the simplest aspects of everyday life becomes beautiful evidence of human greatness and the nature of what it means to be German. Then it is worthwhile for the radio to enter the scene, since a photograph or a personal report are not enough. The radio is not there to give a nicely done portrait of events by a particular announcer, rather the microphone should capture a human event in its original form and pass it on to millions of people.

Aside from the fact that such programs have won the strong support of the leading men of our government, there is hardly a kind of programming that is better received by the people.

The radio announcer must be up to the demands of such political tasks.

His style must fit the events.

When a radio reporter hurries to the site of a big fire, records a report, and goes back to his station and broadcasts the news, he is reporting on an event that many interested listeners might not otherwise have heard about. The announcer is thus not only the reporter of this event, rather the source and the molder of the news. The listener experiences what he says. The announcer is the critical person. Without him, the listener would not have learned anything, other than perhaps what he could read a day or two later in the personal report of a newspaper reporter.

In these and similar situations, the radio announcer is a sovereign lord. He decides whether the event is spoken about at all, that is, whether it is broadcast. He decides the length of the report, organizes the presentation, pauses as he wishes, speeds up the tempo and the words as he thinks best, and delivers a complete minor artwork.

An announcer may have a completely different task, depending on whether he is reporting a state ceremony in the Lustgarten **[in Berlin]**, the signing of a friendship treaty, or the Führer's reception of a worker.

Even if the announcer were not there, the public would hear about the most important aspects of the event. Newspapers would cover the parade, though not in a personal way, rather in official reports, of which the public would already have heard a great deal.

All the newspapers in the world will cover an important state ceremony. One will read the texts of the speeches everywhere. The speech will be carried by the radio and everyone will listen regardless of whether announcer Schmidt provides an introduction or not. The world listens not to hear Mr. Schmidt's introduction, rather to hear the Führer speak.

It is exactly the same with regards to the signing of a state treaty with Italy or with a reception for workers in the Reich Chancellery. The personality of the announcer is unimportant. What is important is the Führer, Ribbentrop and Ciano **[the Italian foreign minister].** That is what is of interest.

The announcer is not an independent creative force when the German radio carries important political events, rather a small but important link in a chain.

The cause of the event is, depending on its important, the Führer himself, or the Minister for People's Enlightenment and Propaganda, or his department head for political propaganda, or some other leading figure. The announcer doesn't make the event significant, rather simply reports that the event is important. He must only fit himself intelligently and smoothly into the already determined course of events.

Of course, it can also be done stupidly and badly.

That happens more often than one might think. Citizens know all about it. They curse the announcer who spoils the mood, or who always says the same thing, or who misses the important things people want to hear about, or the overeager gentleman who thinks it necessary to express his own thoughts even though the Führer is already speaking, or whomever it is who is the reason for the whole gathering, or who talks during military commands, flag commands, or while the dead are being honored by the Good Comrade Song, or our national anthem or that of other countries, is being played - the public rightly views these things as a crime.

When the Führer, the General Field Marshall **[Goering]** or the Propaganda Minister speak at a mass meeting, everyone else should be silent, even Mr. Meier and his microphone. And when the German national anthem or the Good Comrades song is being played, one raises his right arm and sings along, or keeps quiet. One does not talk.

There are established methods for our radio announcers to follow when covering political events, based on experience and thought. The announcer works with others. His greatest skill comes in understanding what the organizer of the political event wants to have happen. Once the announcer has understood that, he can use the time he has to best advantage. Indeed, that is what he should do. Visiting the labor camp in Dingskirchen, or reporting on a barn fire in Kötzschenbroda, or a visit to the rock gardens in the Elbsandstein hills, may be worthwhile. A much more important and honorable activity, however, and one that recognizes his creative abilities, is to work with the Führer himself and his closest aides.

The desire to do the best one can is good and healthy. However, one must be modest in the face of the events and the personality who stands in the center. Only then will outstanding work be done. Only then does one earn the title: Master Announcer of German Radio.

That requires controlling the individual, just like a solder. He must do the best he can, but within the bounds of his unit!

Back in 1933, we began to evaluate very carefully the work of our radio announcers, using recordings of our broadcasts to criticize and evaluate what we had done.

The major events of recent months have also been prepared thoroughly and carefully reviewed after the broadcasts.

The circle includes those who directly participated in the events, and who were responsible for parts of it, or for it all. We listen patiently to the entire broadcast. Then the engineers have their say. Were all the technical details in order, or could something have been done better? Could one perhaps have given the program some variety by including parade music by having had microphones in the right places - not only right next to the parade, but also further away so that one could catch the marching footsteps of the battalion or the cheers of the crowd?

Then the announcer has his say.

Everyone has a chance to speak, beginning with those comrades who did not speak during the broadcast. Finally, if necessary, the "accused" has his say. The leaders give their opinions only at the end. The result is practical training, reasonable and factual criticism based on precise knowledge of the events, which also provides practical guidance for the future. Anyone who made a mistake learns how to do it better the next time.

The value of this approach is best shown when we have to work with foreigners during state visits or interesting events. We suddenly see the differences between our National Socialist announcers and those foreigners who have not been trained in their worldview. They are not as propagandistically capable. Other countries also have splendid and sometimes brilliant announcers.

To put one's personal abilities in the service of the community and make one's personal fame secondary to the events being covered - our German radio announcers have earned

laurel wreaths in this regard. They have been effective aides and helpers of National Socialist propaganda and people's enlightenment in this past year.

Public Meetings During Wartime?

The source: "Öffentliche Versammlungen im Kriege?", *Unser Wille und Weg,* 10 (1940), pp. 52-53, which took it from a publication of the Gaupropagandaleitung Weser-Ems titled *Vorschlägen für die Gestaltung nationalsozialischer Feiern, Gedenktage, Kundgebungen und Versammlungen.*

Is it really necessary for the NSDAP to hold public meetings during wartime? Do not the tasks of the party come far behind those of the Wehrmacht?

Don't people quickly learn everything they need to about political and military events from the radio, the press and newsreels? And has not the German people become a mature political people for whom these news media are sufficient?

And is there not a shortage of adequate meeting rooms in many places?

Besides, should not one consider the understandable desire of many citizens to stay home during blackouts?

In a time of action, is not it better to give up on speaking? Is not it enough to hold a membership meeting? After all, one can insist that all party members come, which rules out failure.

Isn not it enough - if one has to hold such a meeting - to make it an "expanded" membership meeting? Then the party members will have to come, and anyone else interested can show up as well.

Party member! Propagandist! The regular membership meeting of the NSDAP is more important today than ever in the life of the party, but it is still only a meeting of the membership. There is no such thing as an "expanded" membership meeting, for a meeting is either limited to the membership, or it is a public meeting! No, I am talking about public meetings of the NSDAP! You perhaps believe that because of the points mentioned earlier they aren't necessary? My friend! How long have you been thinking so foolishly, how long have you wanted to be so comfortable (it is true, is it not?). Have we already won the battle, this grave struggle for the fate of our people? You know as well as I that this battle for the lives and futures of us all is being fought not only with weapons but even more with with the hearts of two worlds that have faced each other as deadly enemies since 1918! Never again may 9 November 1918 be repeated in Germany!

Party members! It is a period of struggle **[*Kampfzeit* - the Nazi term for their battle to gain power before 1933]**, the kind of struggle that has always been the real test for us National Socialists, just as in the long and difficult years before the takeover, just as in the hard and proud years after the seizure of power. And do you not recall the words of the Führer at the beginning of the war:

> Let no one tell me that in his *Gau,* his county, his group or his cell, that morale is bad. You are the people responsible for morale!

Leaders! Propaganda heads! That is the Führer's order to you in this battle. You want to set aside the sharpest sword the movement has in this battle, the public meeting? Listen! As the war began your *Gauleiter*, the Führer's direct subordinate, spoke untiringly and with inspiring power day after day from country to county to his political leaders, laying out the

directions to follow. Your country leader in turn spoke again and again to the responsible leaders of the local groups, explaining the meaning and goals of today, forging ever stronger the fighting community of the NSDAP. As local group leader, you are responsible for the behavior and morale of all citizens in your area.

And you believe that you can dispense with public meetings, even though the heavy attendance at meetings proves that the people want them!

How? You think perhaps your propaganda leader, your education leader, even you perhaps can say the right things to the people, since there is sufficient opportunity?

Maybe! But that will happen often enough, and even if it seems enough to you, the people do not always want to hear you or your subordinates. They want to hear others, and you will certainly grant me this:

There is nothing else like a proper public meeting with a national speaker, a shock speaker or a *Gau* speaker of the NSDAP! The right spirit prevails at such meetings, the eyes of everyone moisten, once again people experience the genuine, inimitable old-style meeting of the NSDAP! No live radio report or gripping newspaper article can duplicate the experience of community in which unleashed power flows to the individual, The speaker rises - or do you think that there aren't enough good speakers left at home? Wrong. It is true that many speakers, the men who were always the best intermediary between the will of the Führer and the problems, hopes and beliefs of his people, have been called to the armed forces, but there are still enough speakers, mostly veterans of the World War, who are ready to serve the home front by speaking to meetings - and they are good speakers every one. The *Gau* propaganda office is happy to report that it has only experienced speakers in its ranks, men who without exception were active in the movement before the seizure of power, men who are eternally young at heart and whose strength is rooted in the experience of battle.

Yes, local group leader, you can surely tell me yourself that such a speaker can reduce some of the weariness and stress from the lives of the people under your authority. Such a speaker is conscious of his deep responsibility and will appeal to his people from the deep spiritual strength of his love of his people, from his ability to reach the heart and soul of his audience! You know yourself from experiences during the struggle for power how often you said after a good meeting: "This meeting moved us forward!"

During this war, during our most serious struggle, we want public meetings to do this!

You know that such meetings are always a real experience!

Despite the blackout, despite the reluctance of the people, you must strive for packed meetings, which must always be carefully organized and carried out.

Mistakes in Meeting Propaganda

by Fritz Schillik

The source: "Fehlerquellen in der Versammlungspropaganda,"*Unser Wille und Weg,* 11 (1941), pp. 39-40.

All the mistakes people make are tolerable, as long as they affect only the individual. They become dangerous when they affect a group of people that is of decisive significance for an entire people. The NSDAP has just such decisive significance for the German people. It has established the intellectual, spiritual and moral presuppositions for the growth of Greater Germany. It is the way the will of the Führer is transmitted to the people. Remember that it is the will of the Führer not to dominate, rather to lead the people. The goal is to win the people though national, economic, cultural and social means through persuasion, not by force. That

shows the enormous responsibility that the leaders of the NSDAP have to the nation as a whole. He who is not strong in this situation has never been strong and must be replaced by someone fully capable. We must examine from this standpoint the mistakes that have snuck into the meeting propaganda of the NSDAP.

"Active propaganda" is one of the most persuasive tools we have to acquaint the people with the will of the Führer. This means that the bearers of this propaganda, from the department head in the Reichspropagandaleitung to the local group propaganda leader, from the national speaker to the country speaker, must be the most responsible and sacrificing men of the movement. Those who served as the unknown speakers of the Führer throughout Germany in the days before and after the seizure of power do not need to be convinced of this. Clearly, there can be no room for major errors in preparing and carrying out large popular meetings. It must be said, however, that very often there are very often mistakes discovered in the lesser gears of this great clockwork of propaganda that often are the result of insufficient creative ability but sometimes also of the indolence of the responsible political leaders. All too often speakers ask the local group leader: "What kind of preparations were made for the meeting?", only to get the answer "My propaganda leader is responsible for that!" That means that the local group leader gave the responsibility for the meeting entirely to the propaganda leader, and saw his role only as opening and closing a weakly attended meeting with a rude complaint about the attendance. The local group leader entirely failed to note that his complaint should be addressed not to the limited number of attendees, rather to himself and his cell and block leaders. The latter will work effectively to prepare a meeting only when their local group leader sets the example. If he does nothing, even the best propaganda leader will not accomplish much.

In this regard, it should be noted that an old, repeatedly forbidden practice is always being repeated by meeting leaders: quenching the holy flame of enthusiasm by long introductions. For example, the leader of a country "greeted" the assembled people - officers, soldiers and groups - with a 25-minute introduction. After he had greeted the "entire world," save for the speaker of the party, he concluded by saying: "But this evening's speaker can say it much better than I. After all, a prophet is without honor in his own county."

Another group of local group leaders had their cell and block leaders sell tickets door to door. They proudly told the speaker that they had sold 1700 tickets in a town of 24,000. However, only 400 people showed up in a room with seats for 2,000. If these local group leaders could see the inner effect on the speaker of such an embarrassing attendance, they would do better the next time. It is not a question of how many tickets are sold, but of how many people come. In other words, it is a question of the propagandistic spirit that results when citizens are visited in their homes. That is the best chance to hammer the necessity of attending meetings into the minds of the people. It is not enough to sell a ticket; the people must promise to attend the meeting. One cannot say there is not enough time for such work. He who has sworn an oath to the Führer must either banish this excuse from his mind or resign. Naturally, such time-consuming work with the people can only be expected when the great mass meetings are held rather infrequently, not as sometimes is falsely done every week.

Very often this excuse is used: "Well, if we had known how good this speaker was, we would have made better propaganda. The last speaker was a disappointment." This attitude clearly is a betrayal of National Socialist duty. Even the thought that no real propaganda should be made for the next meeting only because the previously speaker was bad is more than criminal. The responsible local group leader will see to it that such bad speakers are excluded. More than that, he will work as hard as he can to show the people that the next meeting will be a success.

Other local group leaders think they have done their duty when they advertise the meeting with posters, often without any idea of the topic of the meeting. Where there is a

newspaper, they will publish a few words and give the speaker's name, then order people to attend. These local group leaders have forgotten that in the struggle for power, they and their cell and block leaders talked to people at home, in shops, factories, streetcars, busses, on the street and everywhere else, urging them to attend a meeting. He who believes that such propaganda is no longer timely or appropriate must learn that those local groups with packed meetings still consider the propaganda of the period of struggle entirely timely. They use their cell and block leaders for mouth-to-mouth propaganda. The officers of the German Workers Front also get instructions to have their subordinates spread the news of the meeting. The formations of the SA, the SS, and so on work in the same way, guaranteeing the success of the meeting.

It is, by the way, wholly false to maintain that propaganda today uses more "refined" methods than those of the period of struggle. The times have not changed, but people have become used to their offices and lost their fighting spirit. These human failings and weaknesses are a great threat to our people. If the creative fighting spirit of our leaders weakens, complacency gains ground; contentment and weakness replace joy in struggle. Should this happen, everything great and powerful that the Führer has given the German people will become worthless. The blood of our fathers and sons will have been shed in vain upon the battlefield. We know that will never happen; that is why such mistakes must be recognized and opposed with unforgiving firmness.

The Work of Party Propaganda in War

The source: "Die Arbeit der Partei-Propaganda im Kriege,"*Unser Wille und Weg,* 11 (1941), pp. 1-12.

Propaganda in Figures

Since the beginning of the War, the *Reichspropagandaleitung* has produced:

more than **2** million brochures
more than **7** million posters
more than **60** million newspapers, wall posters, leaflets, etc.

It carried out:

about **30,000** slide shows
about **45,000** film evenings every month
about **200,000** meetings and public or factory mass meetings

The **Technical Team "Germany"** assisted in about 50 major events and drove over 360,000 kilometers (nine times around the earth).

In the area of military support, the party provided, among other things:

more than **60,000** radio receivers for the troops
more than **1200** slide shows, attended by over **130,000** soldiers
More than **30** million soldiers received relaxation and entertainment from films shown by the party.

The **Dr. Goebbels Radio Fund** provided nearly **6,000** radio receivers as well as thousands of tubes and other spare parts to needy citizens.

When the movement in general and propaganda in particular at regular intervals looks back on its work, it does so not to take satisfaction or pleasure in what has been accomplished, rather to evaluate the work. Effort and success are compared, and the work is examined to see what success it had and what possibilities for improvement exist.

The Foundation of propaganda work

What was true for propagandists during the struggle for power is even more true during war. People must work independently and creatively, without waiting for instructions from above. As precise and detailed as guidelines may be, they can be given only with regards to the situation in the entire nation. The task of local propagandists is to apply these guidelines to the local conditions, to find the right methods to reach the goals they are given.

The following numbers and facts prove that this task is being met, even when one considers that it is not being carried out by a fully-staffed and experienced team. From the first weeks of the war, propagandists too exchanged the brown shirt of the party for the gray uniform of the military. 50% or more of our propagandists have joined the forces. In their place came party members transferred from other areas, who often could not be given any training, but who nonetheless have risen to their jobs. The accomplishments in the following report are the result of untiring effort and the effective cooperation of old and new propagandists. They should spur us on for the work that is ahead. Each propagandist fights at the place where the movement has put him, joining in the battle for the future of our people.

Speakers and Meetings

The war has shown once again that speakers and meetings are the main method of propaganda in leadership and education. In these times above all, the speaker is the intermediary between state, party and people. The meeting is and remains the forum at which the questions of our day receive a powerful, full and vivid treatment.

Major difficulties, but more meetings

Extraordinary demands were put on our speakers. More than a third of our 9800 national, shock, *Gau* and other speakers were called to arms. Cuts in train service and gasoline shortages and other such war-related difficulties also caused difficulties. More than that, speakers carry on their work alongside their main jobs in the party or in the economy, jobs which also demand more of them because of the war.

Nonetheless, despite the smaller number of speakers, the number of meetings and mass meetings is not smaller, rather larger than in the year before the war began.

There were numerous difficulties in carrying out meetings. One need only recall that particularly in the West many rooms and halls were occupied by the troops, that many such spaces were used to store grain, and that at the beginning of the war many towns and villages were evacuated. Since summer 1940, the danger of air raids in the western and northwestern regions have made the holding of meetings more difficult.

It is also necessary to take into account the jobs of the people when planning meetings, e.g., the pressing necessities of the farming economy and the increased demands on those citizens working in the armaments industry.

Meetings and Factory Mass Meetings

Between 1 September 1939 and 31 July 1940, 156,143 meetings were held. Of these, 106,597 were political meetings and mass meetings, 49.546 were factory mass meetings.

An estimated 30,000 to 35,000 additional meetings and mass meetings are estimated to have been held during the period from 31 July 1940 to 15 December 1940.

That is a total of about 200,000 meetings.

"Meetings of the Youth"

Alongside these political meetings and factory mass meetings, there was the successful campaign "Meetings of the Youth," which began on 1 April 1940. An exact attendance figure is not available, but it is clear that from the start of the campaign to 30 November 1940, all members of the Hitler Youth have attended at least one such meeting.

Military Speaking System

A campaign using military speakers in the public meetings of the party, its subsidiaries and affiliated organizations, as well as in membership meetings and discussion evenings, began on 1 April 1940.

Party Speakers Speak to the Wehrmacht and the Organisation Todt

Increasing numbers of political speakers are sent by the *Reichspropagandaleitung* to military units, both in the Reich and in the occupied regions. The steadily rising requests for party speakers shows that the Wehrmacht is not only satisfied with this measure, but wants to increase it.

Simultaneously, the *Reichspropagandaleitung* is sending speakers to the work camps of the Organisation Todt to inform citizens, wherever they may be, of political events.

War Winter Propaganda Campaign

The first wave of the meeting campaign ran from 1 November to 15 December. It was the first use of a new style of meeting. The intention of the RPL was to develop as unified approach as possible to reach all districts during the winter propaganda campaign, something particularly important during war. The first reports published in December show that not only was the goal reached in its entirety, but this style of meeting found particular approval both with propaganda offices and the public.

The RPL made 3,000 speaking dates available to the *Gaue.* The 500 *Gau* speakers assigned by the RPL spoke to about 4,000 meetings. Since the RPL speakers who provided the 3,000 speaking dates often spoke more than once, they too spoke to at least 4,000 meetings.

Thus, a total of about 8,000 meetings were held during the first six weeks of the meeting campaign.

There were other meetings as well that were not part of this campaign, but nonetheless fit into the winter campaign.

The second wave of the war winter campaign began on 10 January 1941 and will continue to 31 March. A high point will be the special meeting "Front Soldiers Speak to the Homeland."

Slides in the War Effort

The use of slides has grown year by year since their first use by the party, and has become one of the most important means of propaganda. They are particularly important in areas that lack a movie theater. But their value is not limited to those areas. They are also valuable in those areas where the populace is able to follow the war's events on film.

Slide Talks and Slide Show Evenings

The *Reichspropagandaleitung* produced nine slide shows between 1 October 1939 and 1 October 1940:

Our Führer
The West Wall
Germany's Racial Policies
The 18-Day Campaign
World Pirate England
Plutocracy and Jewry
Front and Homeland: A Fighting Community
On the Road to Victory
Victory on Norway

37 presentations by party organizations or affiliates treating general issues and current events also used RPL material. Slide shows produced by the German Popular Education Society are not included in this total.

The extraordinary interest these slide shows arouse is shown by the fact that the 41 *Gau* offices held a total of 29,674 slide evenings during period, with a total attendance of around 4.3 million. This does not include slide shows in schools or those held by the German Popular Education Society.

Weekly Picture Report

The *Weekly Picture Report,* which deals with current events, is produced in an edition of 1,575.

Military Activity

We may not ignore the work of the *Gau* offices with the military. In the 14 *Gaue* with military bases, 1,147 slide evenings were held with 130,000 attendees. In each case, the RPL's *Weekly Picture Report* was shown.

Work with Film

The outbreak of the war had only a temporary effect of the Film Department's work in those areas without a movie theater. After the technical difficulties were overcome (train transportation, surrender of vehicles to the army, gasoline rationing, etc.), the film work continued with the resources available. Despite the numerous remaining difficulties (air raids, etc.), the fact that the *Gau* film offices present the best new films and that people have great interest in the weekly newsreel means that the party's film showings are visited more than they were during peace.

To meet the demand, personnel and equipment must be used to the fullest possible extent.

Activity and Success

The party film offices have 906 vehicles and 908 projectors at their disposal. 222 vehicles and projectors are used exclusively for the military. The remaining vehicles and projectors are constantly in use to meet the demand.

The work necessary and the distance traveled becomes clear from the fact that 45,000 film presentations are held per month in areas without movie theaters alone. Nine to ten million citizens see both the latest films and the *German Weekly Newsreel.*

In addition, the film shows held in the camps for Germans who have returned to the Reich from the northeast and southeast of Europe reach about 80,000 to 100,000 monthly.

Between 1 January and 30 September 1940, 33.7 million adults and 6 million youths were reached by party film shows.

The Campaign in Poland

The RPL's Film Office's film *The Campaign in Poland* was a tremendous success. As of October 1940, 7.8 million had seen the film in regular theaters, 3.4 million in areas with no regular theater, and 2.5 million in schools, a total of 13.7 million.

The Eternal Jew

The RPL's second film of the war, *The Eternal Jew,* was released at the end of November 1940.

Military Activity

The military provided the film office with another large field of activity.

As already mentioned, about a quarter of the party's film vehicles and projectors are used to serve the military. This will grow in the future.

About 30,000,000 soldiers have attended the films arranged by the *Gau* film offices for the military. The extent of interest on the part of those in the military for these visual and entertaining media is shown by the number of film copies provided between September 1939 and the end of October 1940 for military use:

By the *Gau* film offices:	2236
By propaganda companies	502
In Norway	50
In Denmark	42
In Holland	57
In the Protectorate	16
In the Generalgouvernement	122
By the OKW office in Paris	255
By the OKW office in Luxembourg	123
By the OKW office in Brussels	116
By the OKW reserves	108
Total	**3627**

Since these figures include only activity to the end of October 1940, before the two particularly popular months for film of November and December. These figures will certainly be significantly higher by the end of the year.

Ceremonies

The cancellation of a series of annual celebrations and the requirements of the war led the RPL's Cultural Office to concentrate its efforts in two areas: the party's necessary political ceremonies and on work related directly to the war effort.

To meet the requirements of the first area, the cultural magazine *The New Community* provided guidelines, advice, suggests and stage sketches for arranging the room, the course of the ceremony, the speech, and supporting elements.

Appropriate songs, music, literature and other materials were also provided.

General Educational and Propaganda Activities

To keep in constant and direct contact with the people, and to provide them with answers and guidance on proper behavior, a variety of propaganda is necessary alongside meetings and other gatherings. Guidelines and regulations provide immediate guidance for fast-breaking events.

These include

1. Guidelines for propaganda during war,
2. Information for the population on clothing rationing,
3. Promoting the metal collection drive,
4. Helping people to have the proper attitude about conserving coal,
5. The behavior of people with regards to Polish prisoners and agricultural workers,
6. Carrying out mass meetings on the Armistice **[with France]** in the *Gaue,*
7. Enemy air raids and the Wehrmacht report,
8. Contact between German girls and foreigners,
9. Services for those who have died in the war and heroes memorial days,
10. Ceremonies in honor of mothers receiving an award for having numerous children,
11. People's Christmas and the winter solstice,
12. Carrying our meetings for the youth,
13. Guidelines for speakers at military meetings,
14. Guidelines for ceremonies on 9 November,
15. Guidelines for posting the Reichpropagandaleitung's *Picture of the Week,*
16. Distributing confidential information and special material for speakers,
17. Guidelines for the winter propaganda campaign 1940/41.

Printed Material

Hand in hand with providing directives and advice, etc., to the propaganda offices and the carrying out of meetings, mass meetings, and slide and film evenings to educate the people, printed matter of varying types is also produced.

Since the beginning of the war, the *Reichspropagandaleitung* has produced the following printed material:

Unser Wille und Weg	1.9 million copies
Speaker Information Material	2.3 million copies
Die neue Gemeinschaft	.5 million copies
NSDAP Weekly Quotation	32.5 million copies
The pamphlet "Polish Blood Guilt	1.6 million copies
The pamphlet "Altmark - Baralong"	.5 million copies
Leaflets	65 million copies

In addition, there is the confidential information for speakers, the special editions of the speaker information material, the brochures in the series "The HJ meeting system," the texts

accompanying the slide shows, the mass-produced brochure "107 Lies in Eight Weeks," the brochure "Prisoners of War," etc.

Posters

The following posters have appeared:

Text Posters:

"The Same Old Trick"	500,000 copies
"Hitler is too Good to the Workers"	500,000 copies
"Citizens, Defend your National Dignity	400,000 copies
"It's Up to You"	450,000 copies

Picture Posters:

Take Cover from Flak	300,000 copies
Our Flag is Victory	650,000 copies
Down With Greater Germany's Enemies	1,000,000 copies
One Year of War	700,000 copies
Youth Serves the Führer	400,000 copies

The following picture posters are in preparation: "Front and Homeland: The Guarantee of Victory," "The Front Speaks to the Homeland," and "Victory Will Be Ours."

Around 700,000 pictures of the Führer have been provided to newly incorporated German areas in the east and west, and to the military forces stationed there.

Two posters, each in an edition of 23,000 were produced for the Film *The Eternal Jew.*

In conjunction with the metal collection drive,

about 520,000 picture posters.
about 330,000 text posters,
about 27,000,000 leaflets,
around 370,000 sets of guidelines,

as well as banners, flyers, etc., were produced.

More than 200,000 posters were produced for slide shows. Around 700,000 posters to announce party meetings and 1,300,000 for meetings of affiliate organizations were also produced.

Slogan of the Week

The wall newspaper of the *Reichpropagandaleitung*, the *Slogan of the Week,* appears weekly, along with several special editions and supplements. A total of 8 million copies have appeared.

Picture of the Week

The *Picture of the Week* appears weekly in an edition of 32,000. Since each includes four pictures, the total is 128,000 pictures weekly.

Radio in War

The greatest changes in the whole propaganda system since the beginning of the war have probably been in the area of radio. The radio organization of the party was as well prepared as all the other organizations, but it was the only area to see a fundamental change in its manner of operation. Numerous new tasks replaced those that had been eliminated by the war. Until listening to foreign radio stations was banned, the radio organization had the task of jamming enemy transmissions as much as possible.

Front Propaganda

In conjunction with the propaganda companies, it helped make propaganda to the enemy lines and positions along the West Wall during the period of quiet. This required remarkable efforts, both in propaganda and technical matters. Although there is no firm evidence, it is nonetheless clear that these efforts had an great psychological impact on the enemy and helped to breach the enemy's morale.

Technical Activity

In cooperation with other organizations, the cable system was expanded rapidly. This was done particularly in areas in areas where radio transmissions were stopped for strategic reasons or because local transmitters were shut down for a period, or where there was a risk of them being attacked by the enemy from the air. The cable system guaranteed that news could nonetheless be sent, as well as allowing for community listening to important events.

The loudspeaker vehicles played a particularly important role. Part of the available vehicles were turned over to the army at the beginning of the war. The remaining vehicles were particularly needed in the west to provide the daily news to those areas not reached by the cable network.

Providing the Military with Radio Equipment

In cooperation with the police, our radio men also collected radio receivers formerly owned by Jews. After they were inspected and repaired, half were turned over to the army for use by the troops.

In addition, Reich Minister Dr. Goebbels asked for donations of radio receivers for the military. After they had been collected and repaired, about 5,000 were turned over to the military.

Dr. Goebbels provided thousands more receivers to the German military through the "Dr. Goebbels Radio Fund."

The party's *Gau* offices provided 6,000 receivers, and an additional 10,000 came from Poland.

In all, the military received about 60,000 receivers with a total value of nearly 4 million Marks for use by the troops.

The Dr. Goebbels Radio Fund

Another duty of the radio organization is to provide low income citizens with radios from the "Dr. Goebbels Radio Fund." This continued despite the war. 5,640 radio receivers have been provided by Reich Minister Dr. Goebbels since the war began, along with 1,300 tubes and 3,200 other parts with a total value of about 145,000 Marks.

Other Tasks

The war has brought with it particular difficulties with regards to batteries. The radio organization was responsible for seeing to it that those available were distributed fairly, above all to areas where they were necessary to ensure continued reception. The introduction of ration cards signed by the local radio official resulted in fair distribution.

The reincorporation of areas in the east and west into the Reich brought particular challenges. Here work had to begin from scratch. The first goal was to erect loudspeakers and transmission facilities, as well as receivers to enable community listening. Radio officials, particularly those in *Gaue* formerly along the border, had important roles.

This work was conducted despite the war. To deal with a shortage of community receivers, a new community receiver was developed for the NSDAP and the parties subsidiaries and affiliates. 20,000 will be produced in 1941.

Guiding Propaganda in the Party's Organizations, Affiliates and Other Organizations

As all propagandists know, our work with the masses is coordinated by the Reich Ring for National Socialist Propaganda and People's Enlightenment, and by its sub organizations at the *Gau, Kreis,* and local levels. From these offices subordinate to the *Reichspropagandaleitung*, the following were directed through guidelines, posters, brochures, etc.:

1. Campaign against enemy lying propaganda,
2. Propaganda for good nutrition
3. Propaganda for small gardens, vegetable gardens, small animal raising and rabbit raising,
4. Two propaganda campaigns on the role of women in the war,
5. A special clothing drive for ethnic Germans from the East,
6. Educational campaigns for merchants and consumers,
7. Educational campaigns on dealing with enemy propaganda material,
8. Assistance with two already mentioned campaigns, the attitude of our people toward the Polish people and the metal collection drive,
9. A campaign against empty shop windows of closed shops,
10. A campaign against rumors as to the length of the war,
11. Support for the German Red Cross collection drive,
12. Support for the oral propaganda campaign on the question of returning the bodies of fallen soldiers to their home areas,

13. Oral propaganda on the theme "Is nothing happening?",
14. Oral propaganda on how to behave in restaurants when the national anthem is played,
15. Propaganda support for the War Winter Relief Campaign,
16. Propaganda for the 12 principles for maintaining the purity of German blood,
17. Support for the campaign against the potato beetle,
18. Support for the gathering of reading material for the troops,
19. Assistance for the war winter propaganda campaign 1940/41.

Concluding Remarks

In the space available it is obviously not possible to give the statistics for every area of activity. It is even less possible to discuss everything done by the *Reichpropagandaleitung* and its subordinate organizations, particularly during the war.

This review at the beginning of a new year must not get lost in details. Rather, it should give propagandists, each of whom is aware primarily of his own area, the big picture of propaganda activity.

We, the Führer's propagandists, can look back with satisfaction on what we have accomplished. The achievements and statistics are unprecedented. They testify to the smooth cooperation of everyone involved. Without our united efforts, it would never have been possible to achieve the assigned tasks and accomplish so much. Looking back on our accomplishments will spur us on to continue doing our duty for the Führer and the nation.

The second half of the winter war propaganda campaign is before us. The first have, as we have seen, was a great success. We National Socialists do not see past successes as unsurpassable in the future. Such accomplishments and successes in the past have always spurred us on to do even better the next time.

With this desire, we begin the second wave of the war winter propaganda campaign. It will be a new high point in our propaganda activity.

"Everything for Victory, Only Victory Is Important!"

The source: "ALLES NUR FÜR DEN SIEG, DER SIEG ALLEIN ENTSCHEIDET!", *Monatsblätter der Gaupropagandaleitung Weser-Ems der NSDAP.* , 7 (1942), #3, pp. 18-19.

Propaganda Plan for the Coming Months

The longer the war lasts, the greater the demands on the German people. It is therefore necessary to prepare the German people through the corresponding propaganda and educational activity. The following guidelines and directives provide the goals and directions for propaganda work in the coming weeks.

The Purpose

The coming months will bring spiritual and material burdens for the German people as a whole and for each individual. The goal therefore of our propaganda activity is to strengthen the spiritual and moral powers of resistance of the people so that they can bear the burdens without great difficulty. Only when every member of the public has realized that this war will determine the future of the German people, and therefore also his own fate, will the people be at the highest level of battle-readiness and resistance.

Victory will be won not only on the battlefield, but also in the hearts of the men and women of the whole German people.

The inevitable difficulties may not be ignored, for our enemy is working to use them to spread poor attitudes, unrest and even splits in the people.

The enemy's last hope is to split the German people from its leadership and to disunify them. They believe that they can once again do what they did in 1918. Their "last hope" that they can use the same means to win that they used in 1918 is the main reason why they do not see that they cannot win this war. That means that their efforts to use the old methods to reach their goals will intensify, not diminish.

Their increased efforts at spiritual warfare and moral splintering must meet our stronger and more determined defenses, and that on the part of the entire nation.

We must therefore radically root out everything that might inflame the people and encourage difficulties of any kind. Everyone must be convinced of one thing only: The victory of German weapons! There cannot be a single citizen who is not from deepest conviction ready to set aside all his personal desires to serve the cause of victory.

As the Führer said to our enemies:

"You may be sure of this: Today you are facing a different Germany than the Germany of the past, you are facing now the Germany of Frederick the Great."

The homeland must prove the truth of his statement. No one can stand to the side. Everyone must know and think each day:

Everything for victory, only victory is important!"

Content

The Reichspropagandaleiter **[Goebbels]** has said:

"Everything that serves victory is important for the war effort. Everything that hinders victory, or even slows it down, is a crime against the security of the nation."

This sets the main direction of our efforts. More than ever before, the home front must show heroic traits. Everyone's slogan must be:

Fight until the enemy is defeated!

The following guidelines should be followed:

1. Honesty and Firmness: In presenting the war situation, false optimism is to be avoided. Of course, our complete confidence in victory should be expressed, but no one may be led to hope that final victory can happen without great additional exertions and deprivations, or that the worst is over and that things will be easier from here on. Even if we win major new military successes, citizens should not be led to believe that they can reduce their exertions.

2. Extent and Significance of the War: Many citizens still do not realize the size and extent of the current conflict. This war will finally provide the German people with a secure future, a future in which they will no longer be among the have-nots of the world. Rather, they will have sufficient space and food for all, room for each to develop his abilities. Our

socialist will must be realized! Our enemies, especially World Jewry, are doing all they can to stop us.

The hour of decision for the life of our nation has come!

The Reichspropagandaleiter put the extent and dimension of the conflict in these words:

"This war is not only a widespread, gigantic battle for our national honor and prestige, it is a battle for the most basic needs of our people, for space,work, food, for a human existence, for an end to eternal crises."

A war with such high goals demands from us our full energy, our complete resolve, our total determination, and an absolute readiness to sacrifice.

3. The Goal of our Enemies: Our enemies are willing to do anything. The Führer has said:

"Once they tried to starve democratic Germany; today they want to exterminate the National Socialist nation!"

Our enemies have stated this goal often enough. When every citizen is fully clear that this war will determine not only his status, perhaps even his life, but also the future of his children, he will be willing to give his full effort for victory. Thus our enemy's goals should be constantly repeated, with appropriate documentation. The misery that followed the Treaty of Versailles makes clear what will happen if we lose!

4. Final Victory is Certain: All the prerequisites for our victory are at hand. The present situation is much more favorable than that of the World War. Our problems of that war, such as France's traditional position as a continental base for England, have been solved. The Balkans are no longer a danger for us. The Soviet Union has lost its decisive offensive power, and two great powers that opposed us during the World War, Italy and Japan, now are fighting on our side Their economic and military power is joined with ours. The present situation, then, in comparison to the World War has changed entirely in our favor.

The German people further has a leadership better than it has ever had before! Its readiness to do everything necessary has been shown many times already.

Since a united people stands behind the leadership, a people determined and willing to accept any deprivations and sacrifices, the last hope of our enemy will collapse and victory will inevitably fall to us.

Means and Methods

The Reichspropagandaleitung provides propaganda material such as the Poster of the Week, posters, weekly pictures, slide shows, weekly picture reports, etc. In addition, the Gau- and county propaganda leaders must find other means and methods.

Face-to-face propaganda is one of the most valuable methods in local groups. Personal activity by members of the party and its affiliates must be greatly increased.

1. Face-to-Face Propaganda: All political leaders, SA men and members of other affiliates are to be systematically trained in face-to-face propaganda. Meetings for political leaders and SA men must be held to train them. Above all, it must be made clear to them that they have an obligation to be committed National Socialists and followers of the Führer wherever they are. They must combat any false ideas, particularly in personal contacts with other citizens.

What these men need to know about political events they can easily learn from the newspapers, the radio, and the material provided by the RPL (*Sonderdienst* and the *Propagandaparole*), and above all from the columns of the Reichspropagandaleiter. It is not critical that they know every detail of the situation or of political events, rather they must display complete conviction that there is no alternative but victory for the German people, and that everything must be done for it, above all that the full efforts of each individual are required.

During the period when we were struggling for power, most members and even most political leaders did not know exactly when we would seize power and what we would do thereafter, but all were firmly convinced that we would reach our goal and did everything they could to achieve it. Back then, political leaders and SA men certainly could not have given the details of how we would solve the numerous problems Germany faced, but each National Socialist was convinced that we would solve them. Each party member saw but a single goal, the seizure of power, and was willing to sacrifice all to reach it, including his job and family. Every citizen today must be taught to have the same heroic attitude.

That requires steady and constant work. This is best done by the men trained for it, political leaders, members of the SA, the SS, the NSKK, who are known as active followers of the Führer.

2. Membership Meetings: In coming weeks, every local group will hold a membership meeting. These should be carefully prepared. Party members should be reminded of their duties as National Socialists and as fighters in a united political struggle.

Party leaders will receive a directive on this.

Public Meetings

Political leaders and SA men will be prepared for their work during meetings for them. Large public meetings will speak to the public as a whole.

These large meetings must be the high points of our propaganda activity in the area. They must be carefully prepared to ensure mass attendance. The dates are to be worked out between the counties and the Gaupropagandaleitung's department of "Active Propaganda." The members of the Gau Ring for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda will provide support.

Guidelines for Propagandists in Gau Weser-Ems

The Source: "Merkblatt fur den Propagandisten im Gau Weser-Ems," *Monatsblätter der Gaupropagandaleitung Weser-Ems der NSDAP.* , 7 (1942), #3, pp. 10-13.

As a result of frequent staff changes in the propaganda offices at the county and local group levels, we provide this summary of the current guidelines and directives for propagandists, which will help to avoid unnecessary questions.

Party and Propaganda

The Reichspropagandaleiter

The propaganda of the NSDAP and its subordinate and affiliated organizations is in the hands of the Reichspropagandaleiter, who is charged by the Führer with overseeing the entire propaganda system. He :

1. Determines all matters having to do with the public face of the movement in the German Reich, including its subordinate and affiliated organizations.
2. Ensures that the party apparatus and its subordinate and affiliated organizations follow the cultural will of the Führer.

He has control over the entire German radio system, organizationally, culturally and economically, and works to ensure that the whole German nation is filled with the National Socialist worldview. He also is responsible for disseminating information about the accomplishments of the leadership of party and state.

The press and film are also at his disposal for these purposes.

An organization reaching from top to bottom ensures the systematic accomplishment of the propaganda system's goals.

The Propaganda Director

Propaganda leaders are appointed by the party at the Gau, country and local group level to see that the appointed tasks of propaganda are accomplished in all areas.

They work closely with party leaders.

The Gaupropagandaleitung

It is located in Oldenburg, Meinardusstraße 4. The telephone number is 6361. The Film Office is located at Parkstraße 5, telephone 2848.

Correspondence

To avoid delays, all mail should be addressed to the appropriate office, not to the official in charge personally.

Party and State

United Offices

The Reichspropagandaleiter of the NSDAP is also Reich Minister for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda. and also President of the Reich Chamber of Culture.

The same is true in the Gau offices.

The Gaupropagandaleiter of the NSDAP is head of the "Propaganda Department" in the Gau office. Its subsections include Active Propaganda, the Propaganda Ring, Culture, Radio, and Film. He is simultaneously head of the Reich Propaganda Office for Weser-Ems.

The Reich Propaganda Office Weser-Ems

The Reich Propaganda Office is a branch of the Reich Ministry for Propaganda and Popular Enlightenment. It is responsible for all government propaganda and cultural tasks in the Gau, e.g., for general propaganda, the press, radio, film, theater, literature, visual arts, music, and tourism.

The Reich Chamber of Culture, Landeskulturwalter, Gau Weser-Ems

The Gaupropagandaleiter is further, as the direct subordinate of the President of the Reich Chamber of Culture, the Landeskulturwalter. The heads of the individual chambers are responsible to him: visual arts, the Reich Chamber of Literature, the Reich Chamber of Theater, the Reich Chamber of Music, and the Reich Chamber of Film.

The Propaganda Ring

The Propaganda Ring has Reich, Gau, county and local group offices. Its task is to ensure the unity of propaganda with regards to the public appearance of the party and its subordinate and affiliated organizations, and to provide general guidelines for propaganda.

The following units of the party and its subordinate and affiliated organizations are a part of the ring:

Propagandaring I:

SA, SS, NSKK, NSFK
HJ, BDM
NSBO
Amt für Handwerk und Handel (DAF)
NSG "Kraft durch Freude" (DAF)
Volksbildungswerk (DAF)
Hauptamt Wirtschaftsberater
Hauptamt für Volkswohlfahrt (NSV)
Hauptamt Presse
NS-Frauenschaft
Reichsarbeitsdienst
Amt für Volksgesundheit (NSD-Aerztebund)
Amt für Agrarpolitik (Reichsnährstand)
Amt für Erzieher (NSLB)
Rechtsamt (NSDJ)
Amt für Kriegsversorgung (NSKOB)
Amt für Beamte (RDB)
Amt für Technik (RDT)
Amt für Rassepolitik
Amt für Kommunalpolitik
NSD-Studentenbund

The organizations in Propaganda Ring I also constitute the Radio Working Group.

Propaganda Ring II:

Deutscher Reichsbund für Leibesübungen (Turn- Sport- und Schützenvereine)
NS-Kriegerbund
Deutsches Rotes Kreuz
Handwerks-, Industrie- und Handelskammern
Kameradschaftsbund Deutscher Polizeibeamten
Landesfeuerwehrverband
Reichsbund der Haus- und Grundbesitzer

Reichsbund der Kinderreichen
Reichskolonialbund
Reichsluftschutzbund
Technische Nothilfe
Volksbund für das Deutschtum im Ausland (BDA)
Wirtschaftsgruppe Gaststätten- und Beherbergungsgewerbe
Reichsbund der Kleingärtner und Kleinsiedler
Reichsbund für deutsche Seegeltung

Active Propaganda

Areas controlled by the Office for Active Propaganda

Mass meetings, the meeting system, speaker assignment and training, slide shows, the picture archive, posters, publications and exhibitions, propaganda leadership, ethnic propaganda, damage prevention, reports.

Major gatherings and mass meetings

Large gatherings that involve more than on county require the prior approval of the Gaupropagandaleitung. Secure approval 4-6 weeks in advance!

Every public meeting is not a "mass meeting". The term "mass meeting" is only to be used for large meetings!

The platform must always be inspected in advance. Only 90% of the allowable number of people may be on it.

Sound systems should be inspected by the head of the Radio Office in the Gaupropagandaleitung.

Reporters, photographers and cameramen at large meetings addressed by leading figures must wear an official armband and have an ID card.

Meetings

The Organisationsleiter approves membership meetings and roll calls. The meeting arrangements, speakers, etc., go through the Propagandaleiter.

The party's public meetings are under the authority of the area's political leader. The Propagandaleiter is responsible to him for the preparations and technical arrangements. Public meetings by subordinate and affiliated organizations will be approved by the relevant political leader only in exceptional circumstances. People may not be compelled to attend meetings.

Drinking and smoking are prohibited at all membership and public meetings.

Speakers

All speakers at public meetings must follow the speaker information material published by the Reichspropagandaleitung or the Gaupropagandaleitung. All county speakers or candidates must be certified by the country, all Gau speakers by the Gau. Each must have the appropriate ID card.

For meetings by the military, the Head of the Military Speaker System in the Gaupropagandaleitung is responsible. There is close cooperation with the offices of the Volksbildungswerk.

Speakers on military themes and military speakers are assigned only by the Gaupropagandaleitung through the Office of Military Speakers.

The NSDAP slide show system

The Gaubildstelle is responsible for slide shows. Slide shows and speakers must be requested through this office. A list of material is always available.

The Gaubildstelle maintains an archive of pictures of important events of the history of the movement.

Amateur photographers are members of the "Reichsverband deutscher Fotoamateure," which is under the local picture head.

Dates for meetings of the subordinate and affiliate organizations (Reichsring I and II)

By the 20th of each month, all planned local group meetings for the coming month must be reported to the local group leader, and all county gatherings to the county leader. The county or local group leader will approve such meetings by the 25th of the month, after consultation with the Propagandaleiter and the Organisationsleiter. The local propaganda leader will report by the 25th of the month to the country propaganda leader, and he by the 27th to the Gaupropagandaleitung, the desired speakers and themes.

Guests of Honor

The heads of the party, state, army, and economic and cultural life should be invited as guests of honor. In addition, old party member, wounded veterans, wives and mothers of soldiers and active party members along with outstanding workers and farmers should also be invited.

Publications, posters, medals and the like

Four copies of all political material, including brochures, text and illustrated posters, slides shows and medals must be submitted to the Gaupropagandaleitung in advance. Unapproved materials may be confiscated.

Applications for slide shows in film theaters must be submitted to the Office of the Gaupropagandaring in the Gaupropagandaleitung.

The party's public bulletin boards must be under the supervision of a party leader. Empty display windows should also be used for propaganda purposes by the party.

Requests for paper to be used for propaganda purposes should be submitted to the Gaupropagandaring in the Gaupropagandaleitung.

Exhibitions and Fairs

All political and economic exhibitions and fairs, along with those responsible for them, must be announced to the Gaupropagandaleitung 4-6 weeks in advance. There should be close contact with all party offices, government offices, and organizations.

Reichsarbeitsgemeinschaft Schadenverhütung (RAS)

The Reichsarbeitsgemeinschaft Schadenverhütung is responsible for carrying out propaganda actions to reduce harmful matters in the area of health and the economy,

including superstition (occultism and fortune telling), alcohol, accidents, fraud, occupational illnesses, fire prevention (home and forest fires), waste, venereal diseases, cancer, noise, poisonous mushrooms, agricultural pests, plagues, tuberculosis and traffic safety, in cooperation with the appropriate offices of the party, the state and the police. Those involved include the DAF, the Amt für Volksgesundheit (NS-Aerztebund) and the Reichsnährstand. Its head is the propaganda leader, who appoints an expert to carry out the duties in this area. The Gaupropagandaleitung can provide guidelines for the RAS experts.

Reports

The Reichsleitung has ordered all propagandists to submit a monthly activity report to their political leader, and to their superior propaganda heads.

Reports are to be carefully and thoroughly prepared, and submitted on time.

The Press

The press in the National Socialist Reich serves the interests of the state and the people. This determines its tasks and organization. Newspapers and magazines should follow the instructions of the Reich Ministry for Propaganda and Public Enlightenment, or of the Propaganda Offices at the Gau level. The editor holds a public office. To fulfill his duties, he must be able to make independent decisions. No party office or government office therefore has the right to exert any pressure on the press. Any special wishes should be expressed through the Reich Propaganda Office. The press conferences held by the Reich Propaganda Office also give all party and government offices the opportunity to speak to the editors in the Gau. Press tours involving a large number of journalists may be organized only with the approval of the Reich Propaganda Office. Complaints about the press should also be made through the Reich Propaganda Office.

Although Dr. Dietrich as Reichpressechef holds both the party and state positions, authority is divided in the Gaue. The Gau Press Office represents the interests of the party and its organizations. It publishes the *NS-Gaudienst* for the Gau press, which provides material from the party and its organizations. Naturally there is close cooperation between the Press Director in the Reich Propaganda Office and the Gaupresseamt. Both cooperate, for example, in organizing press conferences and press tours.

Professional matters are handled by the relevant officials in the Reich Chamber of the Press.

Radio

The war has had a major impact on the Radio Department (cultural radio, organization, technical aspects, radio propaganda and advertising, loud speaker installations, record player installations, record archives). The introduction of the unified national radio program has meant that the Gau only rarely can broadcast a program. Negotiations with the Reichsendeleitung and the transmitters in Hamburg and Cologne by the party and its affiliates go through the Radio Department in the Gaupropagandaleitung. The representatives in Propaganda Ring I and II also form the Rundfunkarbeitsgemeinschaft for the Gau and the counties. The Radio Department has a number of sets of loud speaker equipment and record players, and also has a record collection. These are available at cost. The Radio Department also can advise on building loudspeaker installations or community radio listening facilities.

Film

Areas of the Film Department:

Film prints, box office, technical matters, youth and school films, press, film archive, the state office of the Reich Chamber of Film.

Party film showings

Local groups are responsible for party film showings. The propaganda leader and the film leader of the local group are responsible for the propagandistic and technical preparations. The films are provided through the Film Office in the Gaupropagandaleitung.

Invitations to film showings in movie theaters

Invitations to film premieres, unless they come from the film distribution company or theater owners, are sent only in the name of the Reich Minister for Propaganda and Public Enlightenment or, in the Gau, the head of the Reich Propaganda Office or the Gauleiter. Exceptions require the prior approval of the Reich Minister for Propaganda and Public Enlightenment.

The film archive of the party and amateur film-makers

To improve the holdings of the film archive in the Gaupropagandaleitung, copies of all amateur films that have any significance to the Gau should be sent to it.

Amateur film-makers should be members of the "Bund Deutscher Filmamateure", under the direction of the Film Department heads in the counties and local groups.

Suggestions for the newsreel

May be made through the Gaupropagandaleitung. Suggests may be made at any time.

Culture

The propaganda leader or cultural office director is responsible for art as an expression of the National Socialist worldview. He encourages, advances and supervises it, encouraging its use in the party and its subordinate and affiliated organizations.

Jurisdiction of the Culture Department

Holidays and ceremonies, programs, caring for soldiers (RPA), the Gau Culture Ring (culture-political working group), NS-Kulturwerk (work with the public and lay audiences), village culture, theater, visual arts, music, literature.

The state office of the Reich Chamber of Culture, the Reich Chamber of Music, the Reich Chamber of Literature, the Reich Chamber of the Visual Arts.

Police responsibility in cultural areas

A directive from the Führer expressly gives the Reich Propaganda Ministry police powers in the cultural area. This includes national holidays, state ceremonies, the press, radio,

national songs, the visual arts, music, theater, film, literature, advertising in the economic and travel areas, exhibitions, fairs and advertising.

Culture Ring (culture-political working group)

All those in the subordinate and affiliated organizations of the party charged with cultural matters from the Culture Ring. The following may also be included:

The department heads for propaganda, training, DAF, teachers (NSLB), city policy, the press
Leaders of the women's and farmers' groups
The department heads for film, radio, the KdF wardens and the officials for ceremonies and popular education.
The cultural officials in the state councils and mayors' offices
The music officials oft cities and counties
The had of the musicians' group
The head of the lay groups joined in the "NS-Kulturwerk": Niederdeutsche Bühnen, amateur theater groups, singing clubs, choirs and orchestras (also their directors), ethnic and local organizations, museum associations
The heads of music groups of the party's affiliates, the Wehrmacht, the RAD, etc.
The head of the Reich Chamber of Literature (representative of the book trade)
The head of professional theaters and orchestras
Heads of public libraries, literary societies, and lecture clubs
The representatives of the Reich Chamber of Visual Arts
The heads of art clubs, artists' societies, experienced gardeners, and heads of tourism and beautification organizations
The editors and culture reporters of the press

Ceremonies

The holding of ceremonies within the NSDAP is exclusively under the control of the Hauptkulturamt der NSDAP, Reichsleitung or its subordinates, with the exception of ceremonies of birth, marriage and death (*Lebensfeiern*) and all internal party ceremonies involving training in our worldview. The Propagandaleiter or the Kulturhauptstellenleiter are exclusively responsible for the content and carrying out of these ceremonies. Of course, the cooperation of other offices is desired and expected.

In organizing ceremonies, one should follow the suggestions in the *Neue Gemeinschaft* **[A monthly magazine]** of the Hauptkulturamtes der NSDAP and the *Propagandaringes Weser-Ems* of the Gaupropagandaleitung.

According to a ruling by the President of the Reich Chamber of the Visual Arts, all architects are obliged to volunteer their services by giving advice in organizing the visual aspects of National Socialist ceremonies.

The terms *Morgenfeier, Feierstunde, Sonntagsfeier,* etc.

One regularly encounters events called *Feierstunde,* but which have nothing at all to do with the real meaning of the term.

An opera or operetta premiere that for some reason takes place on Sunday morning is not a *Morgenfeier.* Concerts, variety shows, lectures and the like are not *Feierstunden.*

All offices and cultural officials are responsible for ensuring that the terms *Morgenfeier, Feierstunde, Sonntagsfeier,* and so on are always reserved for events that take place under the auspices of the party.

Village Culture

The Gauleiter has charged the Gaupropagandaleiter with responsibility for a unified and planned leadership and promotion of all cultural activities in rural areas. No organization in the Gau may make an exception without without prior consultation or agreement with the Gaupropagandaleitung. The same is true for the counties.

Popular and lay culture activities ("NS-Kulturwerk")

All lay cultural groups, amateur theatrical groups, amateur orchestras, singing clubs and choirs, ethnic, dance and costume groups, are joined in the "NS-Kulturwerk" as the official party organization for culture-political activities and their incorporation in National Socialist ceremonies.

All amateur orchestras are members of the "Reichsbund für Volksmusik".

Theater premieres (approval and permission)

Besides the professional theaters, "regular" theaters include all amateur, lay and open air states that present performances more than six times annually. They require permission from the Landesleiter of the Reich Chamber of Theater. The season plans of all "regular" theatrical groups must have the approval of the Reich Dramaturg in the Reich Propaganda Ministry.

The "Niederdeutsche Bühnen", as a regularly performing group, is part of the Reich Chamber of Theater.

"Occasional" public theatrical performances, up to five times annually, require previous consultation with the organizer with the party (NS-Kulturwerk) and the country council or mayor's office. Amateur theatrical productions require the approval of the Gaupropagandaleitung, Culture Office ("NS-Kulturwerk"), if not previously authorized by the "Propagandaring Weser-Ems."

"Reichswerk Buch und Volk"

All literary organizations and lecture societies are organized in he "Reichswerk Buch und Volk," and enjoy the support and protection of the Reich Ministry of Propaganda and the Reich Propaganda Offices. To avoid scheduling conflicts, close cooperation with the Volksbildungswerk and the party are necessary.

Concerts

All public concerts require the approval of the city or county music officials.

Art Exhibitions

Art exhibitions require the prior approval of the head of the Reich Chamber of Visual Arts through the Landeskulturwarter (Gaupropagandaleitung). Applications must be made three weeks in advance to the head of the Reich Chamber of Visual Arts.

Erecting memorials and monuments

The head of the Reich Chamber of Visual Arts should be consulted in erecting all memorials and monuments.

A Thought-Provoking Exchange of Letters

The source: "Ein Briefwechsel, der zu denken gibt," *Der Hoheitsträger* 6 (3/1943), pp. 23-24.

NCO Hans D.

Russia, ...1942

To the County Women's Leader St. or her Representative,

Dear Party Comrade St.!

For the last six months my wife has been searching for household assistance to care for my four children and help out with the garden. We have tried and tried, but when the girls hear "four children" they are generally unfortunately no longer interested. Sad but true! At my post here in Russia we hired a girl who I decided was the right person for my household. She is hard-working, clean and has a friendly, open nature. I hired her, and found support from the relevant agencies here, including the Economic Command, the Labor Office, and the SS-Security Service. I was asked to permit her to report back on her experiences in Germany, since that could be of propaganda value here. After a long and tiring journey she arrived at my home. She feels at home there, and my wife is enthused about her. But now comes the flip side of the matter. My wife writes me today, that someone from the NS Women's Organization came by to tell her how she should treat a Russian: As a person of second class, who should go from bed to workplace and from workplace to bed, etc. I must say that I am unhappy with this approach. As I would have expected, my wife rejected this advice firmly. If I choose to sit at my table with someone, I must be absolutely convinced of their character. On the one side, we recruit them. We put our uniforms on Ukrainians, the Tartars fight side-by-side with us, the Cossacks join our ranks, and people volunteer for work in Germany. These are people I should view as second-class human beings? The restrictions they have with regards to food and clothing should be sufficient to remind them of their situation. That they are treated worse in the Reich than they are here by our offices here shows at the last an improper understanding of the situation. I also oppose making them stand out by wearing a symbol. She is a White Russian, not a Pole. As an old party member, one should leave the matter to me.I make a friendly request, dear Frau St., that you look into the matter.

I wish you the best and greet you with a firm

Heil Hitler!

Yours,

Hans. D.

****

... 1942

To NCO Hans D.

Dear Party Comrade D.!

I have received your letter and am first happy to hear that you have come safely through the Russian winter. Now to your letter.

I am astonished by your attitudes on the fundamental matter of our policy towards foreigners. Especially from an old National Socialist like you, I expected a different viewpoint. Please stay seated. I don't want to pour oil on the fires of your anger, nor do I want to increase your scorn of the "women's economy," but you aren't exactly treading carefully, and neither shall I. As good comrades, we can take different views without taking it personally! I don't know, Party Comrade D., when you were last home on leave, but if you could experience the ethnic mixture here, you would understand why we have to protect ourselves. When the German is too dumb and kind, we must have rules and regulations.

We are in the middle of the most serious conflict with the governments of these peoples and nations. Some of our nation mourn the loss of their dearest, sacrificed in this struggle, yet others treat people belonging to our enemies and opponents as if German blood has never flowed, and still must flow. They lack proper pride and attitudes. Circumstances force us to bring foreign workers to the Reich, but that by no means forces me to sit at the same table with them. I can treat them decently, but I don't need to associate with them. Think of how long it took us to plant the idea of a people's community in our nation, and now we want to carry this over thoughtlessly to our opponents, to other peoples and races? No! Where did our basic principles and ideas come from? In 1933 we had to work hard to persuade the German housewife to include her German maid in the community of the household, and now we are to thoughtlessly include foreigners as well. Where does that leave German honor, German pride? It is not done without thought, rather from pure selfishness. Just because there is a labor shortage, one forgets national honor and pride, wanting only through such wheelings and dealings (there is no other way to describe them) to get the help one wants. I can earn and maintain authority in other ways; I do not need to be a friend to these foreigners. The opposite, indeed. Even if we are fighting shoulder to shoulder with a part of these peoples today on the battleground, we must keep our distance back in the Reich. This is not for aesthetic reasons, rather because in the end we know it is an all or nothing battle. The German soldier is the master in Europe, protecting the homeland at the risk of his life and conquering new territory.

We back home would be bad stewards of the goods entrusted to us if we let the foreigners settle in here.

According to our regulations, all foreigners in the Reich today are governed by the state and the party. The German Reich guarantees that they receive decent and correct treatment. Those individuals who come to the Reich also fall under these regulations, regardless of how nice and friendly they are. Our soldiers are also nice and friendly and decent and hard-working, but if they have the misfortune to fall into the enemy's hands they are under the laws of war. All their decency and friendliness are of no help whatsoever, as the First World War showed (and we should not forget that so quickly). Nor do we want to forget the men who fell into the hands of the Poles of the Soviets.

Don't be angry at me, but it seems clear to me that you and your wife want to sit at the same table with a White Russian.... Haven't we Germans learned anything from the years we suffered? The position we hold today has been won by the bravery of our soldiers. Do you think that if our positions were reversed and we stood in a dependent position before a Frenchman, a Serb, an Englishman, a Norwegian (as they do before us today), that they would sit at the same table with us? No matter how decent a person you were, you would first and foremost be a German, and they would not sit at the same table with you! And don't tell me that you are a National Socialist, and therefore... Because you are a Nazi, you should know what you owe the Fatherland with respect to foreigners. As a German I don't need a whip, only my pride.

The war is raging on every front and countless men risk their lives for us every day, yet we are becoming soft toward those who robbed us of peace! We are confusing our youth in the midst of challenging times, a youth that will inherit what their fathers have fought for. We do not want to plant hatred in the souls of our children - certainly not - but they do need the knowledge and the toughness that are necessary to build a thousand-year Reich. Otherwise, why shed so much German blood, why should mothers sacrifice their sons, wives their husbands, children their fathers - for this struggle would then lose its meaning.

Do you understand me? Believe me, I do not wish to hurt you or your wife, please know that, but I have to write what I believe.

One last thing you should know. Your letter caused me great sorrow. If you were not an old party member I would have still more to say, but I will wait.

Stay well. with the warmest greetings,

Heil Hitler!

Frau St., County Women's Leader

The Officer as Leader in the Battle against Enemy Propaganda

The source: Dr. Ellenbeck, *Der Offizier als Führer im Kampf gegen die feindliche Propaganda* (OKW, January 1943

We experience today a period in the history of our nation, indeed of nearly all the major nations of the world, that is filled with powerful movements. Knowing that they are living amidst great events and decisions, the German people have realized that they are living at a time in which history itself is changing. We cannot understand our era by comparing it with what came before. Not continuity, but revolution is the mark of the age. A new chapter in German history was written, and is being written. The battle for political and economic supremacy is only part of the struggle between the nations of the earth. The core of the

German struggle for freedom is to mold the spiritual and moral face of our part of the planet according to our will.

But not only Germany and its allies, not only the nations of Europe and Japan are fighting for a new order. Our enemies too have proclaimed wide goals. The President of the United States claims that the the Twentieth Century will be the American Century. Stalin's program is world Bolshevist revolution. England is fighting for its centuries old world empire.

An earthquake is shaking the nations of the world and demanding their full efforts.

The decisive question is which leaders are able best to use their army and people, weapons and economy, which can best give the ideas that fill and drive their people the greatest force.

An army fights an army, a weapon a weapon, an economy an economy, an attitude an attitude. The results of an army, an armaments industry and an economy are determined by the attitude of each individual soldier, each individual armaments worker, as well as the entire nation. This world war is in essence a war of character.

War leaders therefore have to make the spiritual goals and meaning of this war clear, to call on all the character strengths of the German people, to intensify them, and to protect the army and people against the enemy's attempt to undermine their character.

The enemy knows what is at stake. Thus he has used since the beginning, and to an ever greater degree, all the means of demoralization and poisoning, hoping to win the character war. Spiritual war leadership succeeds when it destroys the effectiveness of enemy propaganda and, to the day of victory, builds an unbroken, clear strength of character in the soldiers.

To recognize these facts is not difficult for German officers, since the experiences of the First World War are still in everyone's memory. But understanding is only the first step. We must face the central challenge of this war. On 10 March 1940, the Führer said that in the hour that Providence weighs the worth of the nations, soldiers stand before the face of God Almighty to represent their nations. The result of this test is the critical question. Mastering the task of spiritual leadership demands the full use of our intellectual resources, because this part of the total war is fought against a clever and unscrupulous enemy. But understanding and knowledge are not enough to win on this battlefield. The deeper we sense the forces of this war, the more we see that the chaotic and order-loving forces of this world have entered a decisive battle, the more clearly we sense that it requires the whole man if the result is to be what it must be. In this fourth winter of the war, the will, devotion and energy of each officer who is not at present at the front must stand with burning passion alongside the heroic soldiers at the front.

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We live in a revolutionary era. The earth is moving. Bourgeois thinking with its expectation of comfort, rights, peacetime life, a reasonable work tempo, a regard for appropriate wishes, of a life that follows a normal and settled routine, all this is not appropriate; it is a crime against our nation, a betrayal of the front and a way of sabotaging victory.

Fate's warning bells are ringing. People are needed who are wide awake. It is life or death. That is no propaganda phrase, rather an historical fact of deadly seriousness. No officer is worthy of wearing the insignia on his shoulder, no officer is worthy to be part of the leadership of the Germany army, who does not realize the seriousness of the situation. It must burn into the depths of his soul, he must prove in his work every day that he is dedicated to this total war with all his being, because he knows that the war will determine not only his personal fate, but the fate of everything.

The Nineteenth Century did not solve the problem of human leadership. It left it to us, under the symbol of National Socialism, to do that which was sensed, even in part recognized

as crucial, but not accomplished. We lost the First World War because the leadership of our 65 million people did not succeed in building a unified will. Today as well human leadership is primarily a domestic task of the government. Since, however, during war a larger and particularly important part of the German people is entrusted to the officer corps, military-spiritual leadership is a particularly vital task for us officers. And last but not least, each of an officer's actions reaches deep into the nation. There is hardly a German family that does not have a family member who is a soldier. His family members share his joy in service, his confidence, his clarity of aim and devotion. A German officer's circle of responsibility was never as great as in this first truly total war.

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A brief historical survey will make the nature of the task still clearer. Four generations have come and gone since the wars of liberation, the first modern national wars. When the people rose and the storm broke, Napoleon's army was driven from Katzbach to Waterloo and destroyed. It was the first time our nation experienced the age of total war. The spiritual collapse after Jena and Auerstädt made it clear that the times were past in which "the peaceful citizen should not know if the king were waging war." The people's army was born, and its soldiers were freed from dishonorable penalties. Now, each brave and diligent German soldier could become an officer. "All former class privileges ceased in the military, and everyone had the same duties and rights, regardless of his origins."

In the years of decision, the whole nation joined with the people's army to sacrifice for honor and freedom. The German people learned that they could not be defeated when they were united in fighting for high ideals.

The German nation then was essentially an agricultural nation. Its social and political systems were relatively uncomplicated. The leadership did not yet need to train large masses politically and spiritually, bringing them to a common will. But a century later, the ten million people of 1813 had become 65 million. And the nation that fought for its existence in 1924 had undergone a major structural change. Its spiritual leadership had become a problem of great significance.

In the preceding century, technology had rolled across the German people like an avalanche. A great migration had brought people from the farming provinces to the rapidly growing cities. People began to cluster in areas where coal and iron was in the earth, which encouraged industrial development. The cities lured people with the civilization they had to offer. But nothing could replace what was being lost in inner culture. The number of people to whom the word Fatherland has lost its holy meaning was growing, because they had lost the living, blood-related connection to the soil of their fathers, which blessed labor with daily bread. Fate took its course. Among the growing millions, ever more people fell into a skeptical materialistic approach to life. The national state, created by Bismarck's genius, seemed more and more foreign to them.

The two great systems of the Nineteenth Century, Nationalism and Socialism, became seen as antitheses. A synthesis seemed impossible. The Nationalists and Socialists stood in separate camps, each seeing the other as the enemy of its political aims and desires.

At the same time, the spirit of the Enlightenment affected parts of the upper class, producing an individualism that separated the individual from the nation and the common good. The result was a falsely understood ruling class that claimed for itself economically, socially and finally ethically the right to brutally impose its will.

The materialization of the masses of workers was opposed by an egotistic and mercantile thinking, which led Bismarck to say that in the end the battle between the two groups was to determine who had the key to the safe. Still, soldierly thinking and a sense of duty kept the core of the population from sinking entirely into materialistic thinking.

But there were danger signals enough. The Jews were emancipated in the middle of the century. Wide portions of those who had become detached from their homeland fell under their political influence. The Jew Marx wrote a new doctrine of salvation. At first it made only economic and social demands, but Marxism became a grave danger as it succeeded in corrupting the loyalty to people and land at a critical hour.

The officer corps was not yet thinking much about this situation. There were no cracks in the army. That was not surprising, for the German was always happy to be a soldier, and a well-led military unit is always an example of living Socialism. The officer was inclined to view Marxist and liberal-capitalist thinking as more or less economic matters that had nothing to do with soldiers. The people of the day had not yet realized that total unity in thinking and moral outlook is an absolute requirement for a nation.

The Enlightenment and liberalism had confused and corrupted people's judgment on the hard laws of nature. Captive to mercantile thinking, they drew the false conclusion that the Twentieth Century would be the century of the economy. Germany's economic progress was seen as an isolated phenomena. People forgot Moltke's prophetic words after the war of 1870: there would be a battle for the existence and freedom of the Reich in 50 years. People hoped and believed that the nations had been brought together by culture and civilization, art and science, economics and commerce so that the era of great wars was over. 40 years of peace seemed to confirm this. So strong was this opinion that even while the storm clouds were gathering during the last decades of the century, tens of thousands of men were not called to military service because there was no money approved. There were warnings, but they were not heard. General Ludendorff was posted to the provinces. There was no general to replace him of equal ability.

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The German people, still decent at the core, thus entered the modern age burdened with illusions about the eternal laws that guide human history, and burdened with the theory of an unsuccessful inner unity of 65 million Germans. Fate next threatened us with a gigantic struggle that called into question to our very existence.

The leadership of the day did not recognize the need for total war leadership during this struggle for freedom. The war was first viewed as simply a military problem. The economy was not mobilized. Soon fate demonstrated that the battle for agricultural self-sufficiency had been lost over the past decades. Nor was there a unified mobilization of spiritual life. In many areas of life, Marxist and Jewish writers could carry on their work unhindered in a way that aided the enemy.

The Socialism displayed for people and Fatherland at the front was unique. The German army won immortal fame. But the liberal economy and liberal spiritual life opened breaches that finally led to collapse.

That became more evident as the role of technology in the army increased. The armaments industry became ever more important in the wear effort. And now the bill from the Nineteenth Century came due. Strikes in the armaments industry during winter 1917-1918 paved the way for 9 November 1918.

From the first day of the war, the enemy used propaganda as well as weapons to wage war. He knew the weak places in the German national organism. Horror propaganda attacked German soldiers and the German people to the entire world. Its subversive propaganda sought to drive a wedge between the political leadership and the people, which was not that difficult to do under the circumstances, and in the end it was successful. Hate propaganda tried to break the confidence between officer and soldier. This did not succeed at the front, but elsewhere it was successful.

The officer corps neither recognized nor properly evaluated the danger of the enemy propaganda war. Neither in school nor at the universities did they receive the knowledge they

needed to properly understand psychological war leadership. There was no real psychological war leadership in the army. As a result, even though it was urgently necessary, officers could not provide spiritual training and leadership for their troops. Late in 1918, the army was betrayed by the spirit of defeatism that destroyed the fruit of years of hard battle and sacrifice.

No German officer may forget the terrible lesson history taught us then: propaganda is a crucial weapon in modern warfare. The officer must be able to destroy this weapon of the enemy and make his own troops immune against its attacks. This battle is just as important as combat itself at the front!

Since fate taught the German people this bitter lesson in 1918, things have progressed even further. The enemy propaganda war that England above all fought between 1914 and 1918, and Soviet Russia after 1917, was a serious matter. But the enemy efforts of that period in the area of the character war pale in comparison to the enormous efforts and comprehensive measures of the united Bolshevist and English-American propaganda of today.

Consider the following:

1. English-American robber capitalism had plans that led to the First World War. In the fifteen years after the Treaty of Versailles, they continued to carry these plans out. The aim was to eliminate Germany as an economic competitor, reducing it to a tribute-paying colony whose workers served enemy capitalism. Think of our country's condition in 1932, oppressed by 69 billion Gold Marks in reparations, flooded with foreign capital, with a ruined and exploited economy, a third of its working men unemployed and another third working only part time. International Jewish world capital had nearly achieved its goal.

The National Socialist revolution put an end to this campaign against the German national welfare. These powers have hated the Führer ever since.

2. In 1918, Bolshevism was essentially only a spiritual force, headed by a relatively small leadership clique. In the quarter century since then, the Soviet people armed to an enormous degree and were filled with Marxist-Bolshevist thinking. They viewed the German, the Occidental, the European as their deadly enemy who had to be destroyed to clear the path for world revolution. It is not necessary to name the names of those behind Bolshevist power. The important thing to to know that what Stalin attempted to do, and did do, with the people he ruled, stands as the greatest imaginable antithesis to German nature. Bolshevism organized the chaotic forces of the world, a mechanistic, materialistic outlook thought up by Jewish brains. Their victory would destroy the very soul of the world, its life, it would crush all the moral values that our people have fought for and built over the centuries.

3. The invention and spread of radio has greatly increased the reach of a modern propaganda war since 1919. Hundreds of transmitters broadcast to the battlefield in dozens of languages. Day and night, the enemy attempts to broadcast subversive thoughts to German territory, trying to have the same success on this battlefield and in the character war that they had in 1918.

Each officer must understand the war over the ether waves. He must understand the enemy's goals and tactics. He must be resolved to win in this area of total war too. Only then will the German officer corps have understood the signs of the time and be ready to meet the demands of this war.

4. Spengler's familiar book predicted the decline of the West in 1918. The events up until 1932 seemed to confirm his pessimistic prognosis.

The miracle of our day is that the genius of the Führer succeeded in a brief historical moment to fill the German national organism of the German realm with a stream of new strength, to make the nation strong, to risk the great war for freedom and to succeed, this despite a hate-filled environment and a people that were apparently hopelessly fragmented and demoralized.

The Führer accomplished this unique historical deed by confronting the idea of Bolshevism and the idea of Jewish capitalism's world claims with the idea of National Socialism. The ideal the Führer proclaimed made Germany's rebirth possible. The logic of history forces the enemy to wage a war of ideas to destroy this new Germany. They want to destroy our ideals of honor and freedom, our faith in the invincibility of the National Socialist people's community. They know that only then can they achieve victory.

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The strategic goal is the same as in 1918: the destruction of the German people. It is the goal that Clemenceau expressed in his regret that there were 20 million too many of us. It is the goal that the Frenchman Bainville had in mind when he said that, in view of the irresistible strength of out people, one should break us up. It is that aim that Churchill threatened in 1936 - consider the date 1936 well! - when he said that since Germany was becoming strong, it must be destroyed. It is the goal Roosevelt had when he instructed his ambassador Bullitt to prepare the way for a European war. It is the goal the Jew Kaufmann had when he suggested sterilization and that other enemies wanted to carry out by stealing our children. It is the goal of Bolshevism, which wants to destroy the ruling culture of the Occident just as it destroyed that of its own land and in the areas to the West that it occupied in 1939 and 1940.

It is a declaration of war against German life as such, against everything that makes life worth living in the highest and best sense. The enemy hates the richness of our creative thought, our will, our great plans and courage, the productive breadth of the German spirit. Here too we see the totality of the war! There can be no compromises or half measures. All of German life is in the balance. Freedom is the goal of our struggle, which today holds is in narrow bounds.

The goal of the enemy's poisonous war is to split and destroy us. Thus they seek to drive wedge between party and people, between party and the military, between the military and the SS, between the military and the people, between the officer and the soldier. It does not matter where the focus of the enemy attack may be at the moment; it affects each of us. We must understand this. It is one for all and all for one. Regardless of whether the poison is directed at the party or the SS, the Wehrmacht must fight back as if it were aimed at it. If enemy propaganda attacks the officers, it is at the same time an attack on the party or the state, indeed against the whole nation. A broad view of this war must keep in mind that the attack is directed against the unity of the whole German people, and that our task therefore is to guard and strengthen that unity.

The enemy attempts to spread his propaganda over the ether. He conceals some of his stations as German underground stations, he uses the power of rumor, he spreads leaflets and newspapers, he lies, he deceives, he incites, he raises doubts, he threatens, he promises - but whatever he does, he is always the enemy. That is what we must see, that is what we must deal with. Total war does not allow us to even consider the message of enemy propaganda. If the law says that he who listens to enemy broadcasts is a criminal, we must view him as a rabid dog. There may be no compassion, no bourgeois thinking, no false pity, no hesitation, no lack of civil courage. He who absorbs the enemy's poison is a threat. He who spreads it, even if only in private conversation, becomes an agent of the enemy and therefore an enemy of his people.

We do not need to spend much time on this point with decent people. But avoiding foreign stations, rejecting whisper propaganda, and turning in or destroying enemy leaflets is only the first step.

Psychological defense requires positive action. We must present ours soldiers with the meaning and goals of this war, with the great lines of our history, our battle for freedom, and we must do this with a passion that will make them immune to any threat to their morale.

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How do we make our soldiers really immune to enemy propaganda? How do we make each one an active propagandist for the German people's struggle for freedom in their letters to home and in their conversations while on leave?

We may not lay out a fine-sounding program that looks good in theory but does not work in practice. What is possible, given the brief training period during the war, and in view of the numerous other tasks? What can and must be done to achieve the goals of military-spiritual warfare? This cannot be done by a list of commandments or a training course. It is matter of fundamental attitude, of the proper outlook, of attention to and affirmation of the situation and requirements of this war. Here are some thoughts:

Even in units of new recruits, there must be time to speak of the political questions of the day. The period must be carefully thought out and prepared such that it is a high point of the week. The officer must realize that it is one thing to speak of the usual military matters, something entirely different to speak to his soldiers about the general situation. When he speaks of military matters, he is the expert who speaks from his experience, and from whom the recruits have something to learn that is new to them. When he speaks of current events, it is entirely different. Fate makes the same claims on him as it does on his men. In speaking of the Wehrmacht report, of the struggle against enemy propaganda, or on questions of attitudes toward the war, he is speaking of the burning issues that face the nation. The outcome of the war will affect not only the fate of his soldiers and their families, but also the fate of the officer and his family. Officer and soldier face the same fate. That must spur the soldier on. He must feel close to his lieutenant because he realizes that they have the same fate, that victory for him as well as for the officer is the question of all questions.

Instruction on the high military ideals and the war situation is not an isolated event. No how well prepared the officer is, no matter how well he speaks, he will have no impact if his whole bearing and conduct are not consistent with the ideals he speaks of. A recruit who has been shouted at all week will not believe an officer who talks about the war's moral demands at the end of the week. An officer who preaches of the bond between officer and soldiers in the face of the enemy, but does not care about his men, or who does not interfere when his subordinates treat them poorly, will find deaf ears. Eager service and devotion cannot be taught or preached; they are the result of experience. If the morale of a unit is high, the men will do what has to be done, no matter how difficult, because a healthy young German always is happy to have his strength increase. There is a very clear line between toughness and affection on the one hand and coarseness and brutality on the other. An officer must understand the difference. But not all realize how much they fail in their duty when they choose the latter instead of the former. There are certainly officers who say that that was how it was when they were recruits, so why should their men have it any better. There is no more stupid excuse than that. It is stupid not only because more has to happen in the shorter training period we have during this fourth year of war than during two years of training during peace. More than that, progress would be impossible under such conditions. That would be like rejecting the oil lamp because people had gotten along for centuries with torches.

The unique aspect of total war is that it demands complete unity even in human leadership. That which the soldier experiences in his duty must be consistent with National Socialist idealism.

How does one conduct a talk on political questions? One must always begin with an overview of the war situation. Most recruits will at best have scanned the Wehrmacht report, if they have even had time for that at all. In a few weeks, however, the places it mentions, the fronts it mentions, will be of vital importance to the recruits, though they are but names today. There they will fight, and perhaps die. They must understand the military situation. If there is

no map available, use a chalkboard. Or one can assign a few recruits in advance to look over the map of one country or another, and tell their comrades what is going on.

Of course no one may miss a lecture about the military situation or current political events, certainly not one of the teachers. This is not some abstract matter, rather the fate of each recruit is being decided out there. It is good to remember that at least once each week. It will help him to find the right tone when he deals with his recruits in the office or before or after duty.

The military situation can be handled in 15 or 20 minutes. An important part of this total war is to refer to enemy propaganda. The "Mitteilungen für die Truppe" carries regular examples of the enemy's activities. It takes only three minutes to read an example. Commentary is hardly necessary, since these things speak for themselves. The recruit who hears eight or ten such examples from his lieutenant, and is told that they are typical of what the enemy does, will not easily forget it. He will know what to do when he later somehow comes in contact with such propaganda.

There is still fifteen minutes or half an hour left. If the officer does not have a matter that he particularly wants to deal with, he can find more than enough ideas in "Mitteilungen für die Truppe." However, an hour that begins with a discussion of the military situation may not end with a variety of abstract matters that reduce the effectiveness of the first half hour. It is good to schedule this session at the end of the week so that the weekend and its time for relaxation follows, and the impact of what the recruits have heard will echo through into Sunday.

The officer who does not do this task well does not only fail a critical part of his leadership duties, but also misses a particularly good opportunity to build bonds with his men.

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Some brief remarks on the spirit of the unit. Some think that because a hard war demands hard training, it is impossible in practice to develop the idealism and eagerness we speak of here. What a mistake! If we had slaves to drill, they certainly would not enjoy it. We German officers, however, have the good fortune to train young German National Socialists who have military service in their blood. We need only to draw on the best resources of our people to succeed. Granted, there are some duds among our recruits. But most of them need only to be treated properly to draw out their best. They will welcome the day's training if the officer has the right words for his men in the morning. But they must see the inner drive and light of a passionate and noble soul. That is what is crucial.

The regularity of drill, the constant change of the men, and the battle against occasional negative elements brings with it the danger of lapsing into routine. Instead of passionate education and training sessions, they lapse into dead routine and joyless drills. The officer must be aware of this danger too. The evidence is that in the barracks, there is only shouting, screaming and threats. Then the officer can only say that he has failed.

Not only for reasons of completeness, but also because of its importance, we must remember that the officer is responsible for what happens between waking and duty hours, and after duty to the next morning. He cannot say that he is off duty and away from the barracks. At the front an officer is on duty day and night. It is no different with the recruits. The word "officer" means that one is sworn to do one's duty. And that never ends.

The German officer who has the confidence of men ready to do whatever he orders them to do has an effect on hundreds of German families. What the young soldier writes home is important. It is critical for the morale of the German people and for the ability of each father and mother to resist foreign propaganda. The longer the war lasts, the more confidence they must have in the German officer corps.

The enemy may spread whatever poisonous ideas they want. They will not shake the sworn community of the army and the people. "Sworn community" is no empty concept. It

exists wherever each of us daily asks if his actions contribute to such a community, and demands that we fulfill the tasks that the Führer gave us when he presented us with the insignia of the German officer.

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